
THE
L I F E
OF
LORD CLIVE, BARON PLASSEY.

IT is not merely the life of a man, fortunate in war, skilful in politics, dexterous in negotiations, and aspiring to the wealth, grandeur, and power of a sovereign, we presume to offer to the public. Our design is to inquire into the first causes of his elevation to a military command, which put him on a level with the princes of the east. To consider whether his successful exploits, and his valuable acquisitions, were productive of national disgrace or honour. To point out the motives of his alliances and hostilities, as they were subservient to his private ambition, and inconsistent with public interest. To observe with impartiality the use he made of his immense riches, his unbounded authority, and the prætorian dignity

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dignity he exercised in the Peninsula of Indus. We will not anticipate upon the judgment of posterity by invidious reflections, and illiberal conjectures; time, which ripens the reputation of men, will explode his true character according to the standard of his civil and military transactions, in the camp, in the cabinet, and in the senate.

To give the reader a distinct idea of a company of merchants, whose servants have lately exhibited in these realms the magnificence and pageantry of sovereigns to the disparagement of the ancient nobility, we shall give a sketch of the forts and settlements they acquired within the Ganges, under the sanction of royal charters, in virtue of which they claim, since the late peace, an immense tract of country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent and number of inhabitants to any in Europe.

Surat is the first we shall mention: from the province so called, situated between the 21st and 22d degrees of north latitude, the Peninsula within the Ganges, stretches into the Indian ocean as far as the latitude of eight north, ending in a point at Cape Comorin which is the southern extremity to the northward. This Peninsula joins to Indostan, and at its greater breadth extends seven hundred miles. Upon the west, east, and south, it is washed by the sea; it comprehends the kingdoms of Malabar, Decan, Golconda and Bishnagar, with the principalities of Angi, Tanjaour, and Madura. The western side is distinguished by the name of the Malabar coast; the eastern takes the denomination of Coromandel; and in different parts of this long sweep, from Surat round Cape Comorin, to the bottom of the Bay of Bengal, the

English

English and several other European powers, have established forts and trading settlements, with the consent of the Mogul, who claims the sovereignty of the whole empire.

Indeed all these kingdoms, properly speaking, belong to him, but his power was so weakened by the last invasion of Kouli Khan, that he has not been able to assert his empire over that remote country; the tributary princes of which, and even the nabobs, who were originally governors appointed by his authority, have rendered themselves independent, and absolute in their respective territories. These princes, when they quarrel among themselves, naturally have recourse to such European powers, as are settled in or near their dominions, and in the same manner the East Indian companies of Europe, which happen to be at war with each other, never fail to interest the nabobs in the dispute.

The next English settlement to Surat, on the coast of the Peninsula, is Bombay, in the kingdom of Decan, a small island, about five and forty leagues to the south of Surat; its harbour can conveniently hold a thousand ships at anchor, the island itself is about seven miles in length and twenty in circumference, but its situation and harbour are its chief recommendations, being destitute of almost all the conveniencies of life; the town is about a mile long, very populous, but poorly built, and the climate was fatal to the English constitutions, till experience, caution, and temperance, taught them preservatives against its unwholesomeness. The water here is preserved in tanks, which receive it in the rainy seasons.

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The fort is a regular quadrangle and well built of stone. Many black merchants reside here: this island was part of the portion paid with the infant of Portugal, to Charles II. who gave it to the East India Company. The English have fallen upon methods to render this island and town, under all their disadvantages, a safe, if not an agreeable residence. The reader need scarcely be informed, that the governor and council of Bombay have lucrative posts, as well as the officers under them. The troops on the island are commanded by English officers, and the natives, when formed into regular companies, and disciplined, are here, and all over the East Indies, called sea-poys. The inhabitants of the island amount to near sixty thousand, of different nations, each of whom enjoys the practice of his religion unmolested.

The English company likewise carry on some traffic at Dabul, about forty leagues farther, in the province of Cuncão, in the same southerly progression: towards the point of the Peninsula is Carwar, a small fort and factory belonging to the company on the south side of a bay, with a river capable of receiving ships of pretty large burthen; the climate here is remarkably salubrious; the country abounds with provisions of all sorts, and the best pepper of India grows in this neighbourhood.

The next English settlement is Tellichery, where the company has erected a fort, to defend their commerce of pepper and cardamoms from the insult of the Rajah, who governs this part of Malabar. Hither the English trade was removed from Calicut, a large town, where the French and Por-

Portuguese have small factories. The English keep at Tellicheri, a compleat garrison of fifty soldiers.

The most southerly settlement of the English; on the Malabar coast, is that of Anjengo; it is defended by a regular fort, situated on a broad river which falls into the sea, and would be very commodious for trade, were not the waters on the bar too shallow to admit ships of a considerable burthen.

Then turning the 'Cape, and passing through the strait of Chilas, formed by the island of Ceylon, the coast of Coromandal forms the eastern side of the Isthmus, the first English factory in a northern direction is the Fort St. David's, formerly called Tegapotan, within the principality of Gengi. It was about forty years ago sold by a Maratta prince to the East India company; its territory extends above eight miles upon the coast, and is delightfully watered by a variety of rivers; the soil is fertile, and the climate healthy; the fort is strong and regular, and of great importance to our trade; it is well provided with cannon, ammunition, and a numerous garrison, which is the more necessary on account of the vicinity of the French settlement at Pondichery, once their capital in the East Indies, but now demolished by the English, who took it in the late war. It was restored by the peace of Fontainebleau. The trade of fort St. David's consists in long cloths of different colours, sallamporees, mofees, dimities, gingham, and saccatoons. But the chief settlement belonging to the company on the coast is that of Madrafs, or fort St. George, standing farther to the northward,

not a great way from the diamond mines of Golconda. This capital of the company's dominions in the East Indies, is seated on a flat, barren, scorching sand, so near the sea, that in bad weather, the walls are endangered by the mighty surges rolled in from the ocean, as the soil is barren, the climate is so intensely hot, that it would be altogether uninhabitable, were not the heat mitigated by the sea breezes. No pains have been spared by the company, in rendering this fort impregnable to any force that can be brought against it by the natives, it is a regular square, and protects two towns, called from the complexions of their several inhabitants, the White and the Black, they are both surrounded with walls, well mounted with artillery, and very populous, the White town is fortified, and contains an English corporation of a Mayor and Aldermen.

Madras, with several villages in the neighbourhood, was purchased of the king of Golconda, before the Mogul became sovereign of this country. This district is of little value for its produce, and must import its own provisions. Eighty thousand inhabitants of various nations are said to be dependent upon Madras, but its safety consists in the superiority of the English by sea. It carries on a considerable trade with China, Persia, and Mocha, the governor of this place is not only president of Fort St. George, but also of all the other settlements on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel, as far as the island of Sumatra, he has a council to assist him, and inferior judges, who pass sentence of death ~~and~~ ^{only} on malefactors of any nation, except the subjects of Great Britain.

tain. He lives in great pomp, and when he goes abroad appears in vast splendor; all the Company's affairs are directed by him and his council, who are invested with the power of inflicting corporal punishment, short of life, and member upon such Europeans as are in the service, and dispose of all places of trust and profit. The military officers belonging to the Company, by virtue of an act of parliament, passed in the 27th of George II. are permitted to hold a court-martial, and punish their soldiery according to the degree of their delinquency.

This bill for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the East-India company, and for the punishment of offences committed in the East Indies, and the island of St. Helena, was, by many members of the legislature considered as a dangerous extension of military power, to the prejudice of the civil rights enjoyed by British subjects, and as such violently contested by the late Earl of Egmont, Lord Strange and Mr. Alderman Beckford. All charters, commissions, and authorities, by which any powers relative to a military jurisdiction, or the exercise of martial law had been granted or derived from the crown to the said company, were submitted to the perusal of the members. The bill, after some warm debates, being espoused by the ministry, was enacted into a law.

In a word, Madras is of the utmost importance to the company, for its strength, wealth and the great returns it makes in callicorns and muslins, nothing has been omitted to mend the natural difficulties of its situation, which seems originally to be
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owing to the neighbourhood of the diamond mines, which are but a week's journey distant. Those mines are under the tuition of a Mogul officer, who lets them out by measurement, and inclosing the contents by pallisadoes. All diamonds above a certain weight belong to the Emperor.

The English possess a factory at Visigapotam, situated still farther to the northward, on the side of a river, which a dangerous bar has rendered unfit for navigation. It is chiefly for the use of this settlement, that the company maintains a factory at Ganjam, the most eastern town in the kingdom of Golconda, situated in a country abounding with rice and sugar-cane. Still farther to the northeast, the Company maintains a factory at Balasore which was formerly very considerable, but has been of very little consequence since the navigation of the river Huguely was improved. At this place every European ship, bound for Bengal and the Ganges, takes in a pilot: the climate is not counted very salubrious; but the adjacent country is fruitful to admiration, and here are considerable manufactures of cotton and silk. Without skilfull pilots, the English would find it very difficult to navigate the different channels through which the river Ganges discharges itself into the sea at the bottom of the Bay of Bengal; Huguely 150 miles farther up the river was formerly the chief mart of the Company's commerce for the whole kingdom of Bengal; now their whole trade centers at Calcutta, or Fort William, which is a regular fortification, containing lodgings for the factors and writers, store houses for the company's merchandize and magazines for their ammunition. As for the

as the governor's house, which likewise stands within the fort, is one of the most regular structures in all India. This government has been of late years *most earnestly solicited by the first company's servants*, as the most lucrative of all their settlements besides these along the sea coast, and on the banks of the Ganges, the English East India Company possess certain inland factories and posts for the convenience and defence of their commerce, either purchased of the Nabobs and Rajahs, or conquered in the last war, the operations of which were consigned to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, or the interior countries, which form the Peninsula within the Ganges.

Bengal, of all the Indian provinces, has been the most exposed to the depredations of merciless and rapacious commanders. It is esteemed to be the storehouse of the East Indies, its fertility exceeds that of Egypt, after being overflowed by the Nile, and the produce of its soil consists of rice, sugar canes, corn, sesamum, small mulberry and other trees. Its callicoes, silks, salt petre, lakka, opium, wax and arvet go all over the world; and provisions there were formerly in vast plenty and incredibly cheap, especially pullets, ducks and geese; the country is intersected by canals cut out of the Ganges, for the benefit of commerce; and extends near a hundred leagues on both sides the river, being full of cities, towns, villages, and castles.

The English civil government which had been introduced into the town of Calcutta by a Mayor and Aldermen, far from giving general satisfaction, has been instrumental of numberless acts of

the most glaring injustice and oppression, on account of the vast influence which the company had always over the magistrates; the many complaints from private persons aggrieved by this mock tribunal have lately reached England, in consequence of which the king has appointed a chief justice and three puisne justices of the superior court of judicature at Fort William.

The other factories of less note belonging to the company are those of Dakka, the largest city of Bengal, Malda, and Ballasore in the province of Orissa, from which the English company draw great part of their revenues, as it carries on a vast trade in chintzs, calicoes and embroidered stuffs.

They have also a flourishing factory at Amed-Abad, on the gulph of Cambaya, besides those of Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, and Caehao in Tonquin, where the company has a magnificent house, with store-houses, and handsome apartments for their officers and merchant-factors.

The English carry on a smuggling kind of trade in their country ships, from the coast of Coromandel, and the Bay of Bengal, to Malacca. This commerce is connived at by the Dutch governor, and council among them, who little regard the orders of their superiors, provided they can enrich themselves.

It is from Cambodia, a country little known to the Europeans, except the Dutch, that the company is supplied, with the betel, a creeping plant of a particular flavour, and reputed an excellent remedy for all those diseases that are common to the inhabitants of the East Indies; tho' it is very

unpalatable to the Europeans, it is the highest luxury of this part of the East.

Though the provinces of the rich Peninsula, within the Ganges, have their respective princes, the English East India company, since their acquisitions in the last war, may be properly said to rule over the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, Orixia and the Carnatic, they have monopolized the most valuable branches of that commerce courted by all trading nations of the world, from the earliest ages, and drawn from thence the materials of their luxury, one should have scarcely imagined that such wealth was destined to flow to ravenous upstarts sent at a venture beyond the eastern ocean, by obscure and indigent relations, as young votaries to the blind goddess, who had before prostituted her favours to raw and illiterate boys, who went on the same errand. This easy manner of providing for children, debarred, by the circumstances of their parents, of the elements of a liberal education, with no other prospect than to move in the humble sphere of low tradesmen and mechanics, engaged Mr. Clive, who had but a contemptible opinion of his son Robert's mental faculties, to rise all the interest he had with the secretary of the India house, to have him admitted a supernumerary clerk to the company, at Calcutta.

Mr. Clive had been brought up to the profession of an attorney in Shropshire, his native county. There he practised, for several years without improving, his fortune or *establishing* his credit and reputation; he came to the metropolis, where the same ill success attended him, he derived but a mere

existence from the ambiguity of the law, and the litigious spirit of a few clients. He was shrewd, and plausible.

If fortune lifted up afterwards his son to the summit of worldly grandeur, as merit had a very little share to this amazing elevation, it does not follow that the father wanted judgment and penetration, from the mean idea he had conceived of his abilities.

It was early in the spring, in the year 1743, that young Clive sailed for the East Indies, he was then in the eighteenth year of his age, a time when the genius and the imagination of most young men, portend the exertion of their talents in riper years.

He had neither personal accomplishments, nor endearing qualities that could prepossess either sex in his favour: he was short, inclined to be corpulent, awkward, and unmanerly; his aspect was gloomy, sullen, and forbidding: his temper morose and intractable; his apprehension dull, and his mind unadorned by classical knowledge, tho' he seemed averse to the drudgery and confinement of a country house, all the time he was employed in that servile capacity, his companions did not perceive that he had other views and military talents, till he shewed them in the field.

Ever since the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Monsieur Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, had sown, by his intrigues, the seeds of dissension among the nabobs, that he might be the better able to command, after having effected their division. Sundah Sahib, nabob of Arcot, having been deposed by the great Mogul, who placed Anawerde Khan in his

his room, he resolved to recover his government by force, and had recourse to the French General, who reinforced him with two thousand sea-poys, or soldiers of the country, sixty kafres, and four hundred and twenty French troops, on condition that if he proved successful in his enterprize, he should cede to the French the town of Velur, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-five villages. Thus reinforced, he defeated his rival Anawerde Khan, who lost his life in the engagement, reassumed the government of Arcot, and punctually performed the conditions, which had been stipulated by his French allies.

In the mean time Mahommed Ali Khan, son of the deceased nabob, fled to Tiruchirapalli, and solicited the assistance of the English; who favoured him with a reinforcement of money, men and ammunition, under the conduct of Major Laurence, an intrepid and experienced officer; by dint of this supply, he gained some advantages over the enemy, who were obliged to retreat, but no decisive blow was given. Mehommed afterwards repaired in person to Fort St. David, to demand more powerful succours, alledging that his fate was connected with the interest of the English company, which in time would be obliged to abandon the whole coast, should they allow the enemy to proceed in their conquests. In consequence of these representations, he received another strong reinforcement, under the command of captain Cope, but nothing of importance was attempted, and the English auxiliaries retired. Then Mahommed was attacked by the enemy, who obtained

tained over him a compleat victory. Finding it impossible to maintain his footing by his own strength, he entered into a close alliance with the English, and ceded to them some commercial points, which had been long in dispute; then they detached captain Cope to put Terucherapali in a posture of defence; while captain Gingen a Swiss officer, marched at the head of four hundred Europeans to the Nabob's assistance, the two armies being pretty equal in strength, lay encamped in sight of each other a whole month; during which, nothing happened but a few skirmishes, which generally terminated to the advantage of the English auxiliaries.

In order to make a diversion, and divide the French forces, the company resolved to send a detachment into the province of Arcot, and this was the first occasion upon which Mr. Clive displayed a military genius; he had served the East India company seven years, as a writer, during which he was considered as a person unqualified for succeeding in any civil station of life; he had offered his services in a military capacity, and obtained a commission of captain, as a reward of his zeal and assiduity. He now began his march to Arcot at the head of two hundred and ten Europeans.

The merit of this expedition consisted in his secrecy and dispatch; and whatever encomiums the cotemporary writers, have bestowed upon his courage and reputation in this enterprize, he had an undoubted intelligence that the enemy knew nothing of his motions until he was in possession of the capital, which he took without opposition: indeed

deed his conduct, moderation and disinterestedness deserve to be recorded, as it is the first and last instance he ever gave of mercy and generosity to the vanquished. The inhabitants of Arcot expecting to be plundered, offered him a large sum to spare the city; but they derived their security from the discretion and the policy of the conqueror, who thought this act of clemency would establish his reputation, and influence the company to intrust him with the first command of their forces, to which he aspired. He consequently refused the proffered ransom, and issued a proclamation, intimating, that those who were willing to remain in their houses, should be protected from insult and injury, and the rest have leave to retire with all their effects, except provisions, for which he promised to pay the full value, though he did not keep his word. By this ostentatious contempt for riches, he conciliated the affections of the people, and even some of those who quitted the place supplied him with exact intelligence of the enemy's designs, when he was besieged in the sequel. Had he given a dangerous precedent of pillage and slaughter, he was sensible that he might have been the first victim of this injudicious conduct, in case he had fallen in the hands of the enemy.

The town was in a little time invested by the French Nabob, Sundah Sahab, at the head of barbarians, with no other courage than that inspired by opium, assisted by three or four French engineers, who directed the operations of the siege. Notwithstanding Mr. Clive had flattered himself with retarding their approaches by some unsuccessful sallies, they at length effected two breaches, supposed

posed to be practicable; and on the fourteenth day of October, in the year 1751, gave a general assault. Mr. Clive, having received intimation of their design, trusted to the bravery of some European soldiers, who repulsed the pusillanimous Indians in several quarters; and their whole army being struck with a panic, raised the siege with the utmost precipitation. Those who have praised Mr. Clive's military skill and conduct on this occasion, must suppose that the art of attacking and defending places was infused into him, as he had neither theory nor practice to command the operations of a siege. When we consider a body of men led up to the attack, dressed in long silk garments, with no other fears from defeat, but that of changing their mode of slavery, provoked to fight by a sudden gust of passion, instead of that cool intrepidity which surmounts all obstacles and difficulties, our admiration must cease, as common sense and presence of mind, are sufficient to discomfit with a handful of men, a herd of effeminate and dastardly wretches, without discipline, and nurtured in unmanly softness and effeminacy. Immediately after these dispirited Indians had abandoned the siege, Mr. Clive, was reinforced by a detachment under captain Kirk Patrick, who advised him to march in pursuit of the enemy, whilst they flew in disorder and confusion. They overtook them in the plains of Arani, where, on the third day of December, they attacked them before they had time to assemble their scattered bodies, and put themselves in a posture of defence; after the first onset they obtained a compleat, but I cannot say a glorious victory, as the Indians scarcely offered any resistance,

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and laying down their arms supplicated the clemency of the conquerors ; if there was any merit in this action, it was owing to captain Kirk Patrick's counsels and the gallant countenance of his men ; however, his name has been scarcely mentioned by the historians of this encounter, and the whole success was attributed to the fortunate Mr. Clive. It is known that he ordered several of these prostrate wretches to be massacred in cool blood after the action, and that he shewed in the field a rapaciousness and a cruelty, which proved that the moderation and the lenity he had affected at Arcot, proceeded from motives very different than the natural suggestions of his own feelings.

The cities of Arani and Kasicaran, after this defeat, opened their gates to the victors, and Mr. Clive returned to Fort St. David's, in a pompous triumph ; he had enjoyed a few weeks the honours of a sort of Apotheosis, when he was summoned to the field by fresh incursions of the enemy.

In the beginning of the year 1752, he marched with a small detachment to Madras, where he was joined by a reinforcement from Bengal, the whole number amounting to four hundred Europeans and assembled a body of the natives, which together formed an army of 3000 men. With these he proceeded to Koveripauk, about fifteen miles from Arcot, where he found the French and Indians, consisting of one thousand sea-poys, seven hundred horse, a body of natives and one hundred Europeans, with eight pieces of cannon. Mr. Clive observing that they were advantageously posted and intrenched, and the day being already far advanced, had deferred the attack till the next
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morning ; if some officers of his army had not gallantly offered to lead immediately the four hundred Europeans, to the entrenchment of the enemy, as from them alone depended the success of this engagement, being four to one European of the opposite side. Mr Clive unwilling to betray any marks of fear, and apprehensive that the dawn of his military reputation might be eclipsed by the eagerness of the subalterns to fight the enemy, approved of their resolution. They advanced against them with great intrepidity, but the victory remained for a long time in suspense, it was now almost dark, and the battle doubtful, when an officer bold and enterprising proposed to Mr. Clive, to send him round with a detachment, to fall on the rear of the French battery; this attack was executed with great conduct and bravery, while the English in front, entered the entrenchments with their bayonets fixed and displayed the spirit and activity of hardy veterans; this double attack disconcerted the enemy in such a manner, that they desisted immediately from all opposition; a considerable carnage ensued, tho' the greater part of the enemy both horse and foot, saved themselves by flight, under cover of the darkness. The French thus cowardly deserted, were forced to throw down their arms and to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and all the cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the victors.

Those who have served in India know, that the natives and sea poys are brought into the field as if it was only to make the appearance of an army. The Europeans commonly bear the brunt of the battles, and they no sooner yield than the nabobs

give to their subjects the first example of timidity and despair. It has been observed, that the Indians, who never were a warlike people, seldom engage spontaneously against their own countrymen, as for the sea-poys, they are mercenaries who generally follow the fate of their leaders. The French having received intelligence before the battle of Kovaripauk that a superior body of Europeans were marching against them, had no hopes of safety, but in protecting themselves and their pusillanimous allies, from any sudden attack of the enemy; and as the Indians made at last no opposition to their assailants; it is no wonder that one hundred Europeans should be vanquished by four times that number of troops, equal in courage and discipline, and superior in bodily strength and perseverance.

Thus Mr. Clive assumed all the honour of having cleared the province of Arcot of the enemy, and returned with his forces to Fort St. David, where, to his great mortification, he found Major Lawrence just arrived from England, to take upon him the command of the troops in the company's service. On the eighteenth day of March this valiant officer, accompanied by Mr. Clive, took the field, and was joined by captain Gingen, at Teruchirapalli; from hence he detached Mr. Clive, with four hundred European soldiers, some Marratta horse and a body of sea poys, to cut off the enemy's retreat to Pondicherry, which should have been done after the rout of Koveripauk; had Mr. Clive known, how to take advantage of this defeat, it was not so much confidence in his abilities, than a design to try his military skill, that engaged Major Lawrence to send him upon that duty he had

been apprized at his arrival in India of the boasted exploits of this rising warrior, but he was not yet personally acquainted with all his merit.

In the course of this expedition he dislodged a small body of the enemy posted at Sameavarem, and Sundah Saheb having thrown some of his wretched infantry into a temple fortified according to the Indian method upon the river Kaldaron, Mr. Clive knew there was no danger in investing it, as it was neither tenable nor well garrisoned. Effectively the commanding officer, at his approach, in attempting to escape, was slain with some others, and the rest surrendered at discretion. They were still in possession of another temple, and though it was badly fortified, and defended by a handful of men willing to surrender, he besieged it in form, and had the modesty to reduce it by capitulation. Having made these easy conquests, he received orders to march directly to Golconda, whither he understood the French commander had retired; that officer with thirty Europeans, and a small body of sea-poys, could not presume to face four hundred soldiers; he was endeavouring to intrench himself in a village with his little troop, but before he had compleated his works, he was drove by the superior force of the enemy, who made themselves master of the French cannon. The fugitives attempted to save themselves in a neighbouring fort; but the gates being shut against them by the governor, who was apprehensive they would be followed pell-mell by the English; Mr. Clive availing himself of their distressed situation, attacked them and made a general slaughter of these defenceless and famished wanderers. After most
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of them were destroyed in wanton barbarity, Mr. Clive shewed his humanity, by sending a flag of truce to the few who had escaped this carnage, with terms of capitulation which they were in no condition to refuse; these articles imported that Mr. Dantevil and three French officers, should remain prisoners on parole for one year; that the garrison should be exchanged; and the money and stores be delivered to the Nabob whom the English supported. There the fortune of Mr. Clive continued to accompany him, as he had found no resistance from the enemy he had been sent to subdue.

During these transactions, Sundah Saheb, lay encamped with an army of 30,000 men, at Surinham, an island in the neighbourhood of Teruchirapali, which he longed eagerly to possess. Hither Major Lawrence marched with his Indian allies, and took his measures so well, that the enemy's provisions were entirely intercepted. Sundah Saheb, in attempting to fly was taken prisoner, by the Nabob of Tanjour, an ally of the English company, who ordered his head to be struck off, in order to prevent the disputes, which otherwise would have arisen among the captors. The main body of the army being attacked by Major Lawrence, and totally defeated, the island of Surinham was surrendered, and about a thousand European French soldiers, fell into the hands of the conquerors, including thirty officers, with forty pieces of canon, and ten mortars. The English and their allies having obtained divers other successive advantages under the conduct of Major Lawrence; Mr. Dupleix, recalled all his regulars from

from the Indian army, and acted upon the defensive.

The victory of Surinham, reflected great honour upon Major Lawrence's military skill and generosity, it put an end for a time to the European hostilities in India, and was a decisive blow against the French power in the Peninsula within the Ganges, whilst it displayed the disinterestedness and humanity of the victor.

The French company in France, discouraged by these repeated misfortunes, sent over in the year 1753, one Mr. Duvelar, as their commissary, who with a view to restore peace in the East Indies; concluded a convention with the English company; by which it was stipulated, that the two companies should reciprocally restore the territories taken by the troops of either, since the year 1748, except certain districts, which the English detained for the convenience of their traffic. That the Nabobs advanced through the influence of either party, should be acknowledged by both; and that for the future neither should interfere in the differences between the princes of the country. The pacific sentiments of the French subjects at this period in the East Indies, were the effects of Major Lawrence's steadiness, prudence and activity.

The cessation of hostilities between the English and French companies on the Peninsula of Indus; encouraged Mr. Clive to visit his native country, from which he had been ten years absent. He began to aspire to the first command of the East India company forces, and flattered himself that the fame of his military achievements, which had reached England before him, with his personal appearance,

pearance, would influence the directors to promote him; even above those who had a prior claim to their attention by seniority and long services; tho' perhaps not crowned with the same fortune and success.

He met at the India House with a gracious reception, agreeable to the prepossession of the directors for his military talents; his successful expedition into the province of Arcot, where fortune had led him to glory without the terrifying dangers incident to war, made him, worshiped as the offspring of Mars, by merchants who extolled every valuable acquisition to their trading company, as the conquests of Cyrus, or an Alexander. He availed himself of this disposition, to secure their confidence and support, and making an enumeration of his services, with the specious modesty of accounting to them for his conduct in the field, he artfully suggested that none was capable but himself to execute the great plans he had formed for the company's future grandeur and prosperity; in fine, he gained over them that ascendancy, which conceit and vanity commonly obtain over weak and credulous minds.

The few good officers in England, who had served the precedent war, in Flanders and Germany; perceived, in hearing from his own mouth a relation of his military transactions, that his mind was not the least tinctured with the first rudiments in the art of war; and admired his good luck, in despising justly his presumption and his ignorance.

The late Mr. Charles Townsend, who was an excellent judge of men, said of him, "the fellow

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was right to transplant himself, he could not thrive in his native soil."

He had nothing in his figure, in his address, and in his manner, that could second his design to marry a rich heiress; but he chiefly depended upon his reputation, and the moderate fortune of fifty thousand pounds, which he had acquired in one campaign, by military contributions, and the *douceurs* of a commanding officer in the company's service. However the amiable qualities of Miss Maskeline, daughter of a reputable gentleman in the county of Wilts, fixed the affection of the young hero, who found in her merit and fidelity, all the sweets of domestic comfort, which should have made him happy.

The truce between the two companies was not of long duration; whenever there is between merchants a probability on either side to gain some advantage from the infraction of commercial conventions, there is a degree of avarice, a passion too often productive of fraud and injustice, that breaks through all fences of public faith.

The English ministry had sent rear Admiral Watson, and rear Admiral Pocock, with a squadron of capital ships, having Aldercorn's regiment on board, to the East Indies, in order to support our interests there; of which the court of France was no sooner informed, than dreading the consequences of a war with the English, on that trading coast, they dispatched Mr. Godshew, with orders to supersede Mr. Dupliex in his government, and afterwards exert his utmost endeavours to conclude a pacific treaty with the governor of Madras and with the other English settlements on the coast

of Coromandel; accordingly the proposals he made being highly acceptable to the English. On the twenty-sixth of December, 1754, articles of a provisional treaty and stipulations of a truce were signed between governor Saunders and Mr. Godehew; soon after which the latter of these gentlemen was recalled home, and Mr. de Leyrit appointed to succeed him. His conduct soon convinced the English, that the tranquillity which they hoped would have been permanent, was founded on an uncertain basis, as Mr. de Leyrit was restless, bold and enterprising; they were not mistaken, for early in the year, it was found, that the French were endeavouring, though in direct contravention of the provisional treaty, to make themselves masters of all Decan; at the same time, they also took possession of Golconda, and sent assistance to the Polygar of Velloor, then in actual rebellion against his sovereign, Mahomed Ally Khan, our ally.

The two companies recommenced their warlike operations no longer as auxiliaries to the princes of the country; but as principals and rivals, both in arms and commerce. Major Lawrence who now enjoyed the chief command of the English forces, obtained divers advantages over the enemy, and prosecuted his success with vigour, as in all probability, would in a little time, have terminated the war, according to his own wish; when the progress of his army was interrupted and suspended, by an unfortunate event, at Calcutta; the cause, of which, is not easily explained; for extraordinary pains have been taken, to throw a veil

over some transactions, from whence this calamity was immediately or remotely derived.

After the negociation between the English, and French companies had been renewed, Suzajud Douza, viceroy of Bengal. Baher and Orixá, taking umbrage at the refusal of certain duties, to which he laid claim, being particularly incensed against the English governor of Calcutta, for having granted protection to one of his subjects, whom he had outlawed; and, moreover irritated by other practises of the company, which it is not our plan to unfold; levied a numerous army, and marching to Calcutta, invested the place, which was then in no posture of defence; even against effeminate and undisciplined Asiatics. The governor intimidated by the number, and power of the enemy, cowardly abandoned the fort; and with some principal persons residing in the settlement, took refuge on board a ship in the river; carrying along with them their most valuable effects, and the books of the company. The defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell, the second in command, who with the assistance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garrison, maintained it with uncommon courage and resolution, against several attacks, until he was overpowered by numbers; and the enemy had forced their way into the castle: then he was obliged to submit; and the Suba, or Viceroy, promised on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him, or his garrison.

Nevertheless, they were all driven to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons of both sexes, into a place called the Black-hole-prison, without any entrance for air, except by two low win-

* windows to the west, strongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation.

The horror of the miserable situation to which they were reduced, makes humanity shudder ; thus stewed up in a close sultry night, under such a climate as that of Bengal, these hapless victims in the pangs of distraction and despair, implored in vain, the compassion of the guard, which they attempted to provoke to fire upon them, by execration and abuse ; many of them falling down, were trod to death, or suffocated. The dreadful symptoms of thirst was now accompanied with a difficulty of respiration ; and every individual gasped for death : The confusion became general and horrid. All was clamour, shrieks, groans, contest and confusion. The inhumane russians without derived entertainment from their misery : in this situation they remained till day arose, and the weak were pressed to the ground, never to rise again ; towards morning, all was horror, silence, languor and desolation. The Suba being informed, that the greatest part of the prisoners were suffocated, enquired if the chiefs was alive, and being answered in the affirmative, sent an order for their immediate release ; when no more than twenty-three survived, of an hundred and forty-six, who had entered alive, Mr. Holwell, and three of his friends loaded with fetters, were conveyed to the Indian camp, and from thence conducted to Muxabradad, the capital of Bengal, where they were laid in chains as a spectacle to the inhabitants, and treated for some days, as the worst of criminals. At last, the Suba, with some marks of compunction and generosity, set Mr. Holwell and his friends at liberty. We are

sorry to say, that this cruel treatment shocking as it was, passed in the opinion of the Indians, for a just retaliation of the injuries and oppressions, they had suffered from the company's servants in the Peninsula, within the Ganges

By the reduction of Calcutta, the company's affairs were so much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them, but the interposition of a national force, and the well concerted plans of admiral Watson, from which Mr Clive derived all the reputation, and his immense wealth. In consequence of the admiral's intelligence at Fort St David's, where he was arrived, that Tullagee Angria, a Pratical prince in the neighbourhood of Bombay, was on the eve of concluding a treaty with the nation of the Marrattas, which might prove prejudicial to the interests of the English company, a resolution was taken to drive him from his residence at Geriah, which was well fortified, and annihilate his power, which was formidable to all the trading ships of Europe.

Watson, after resitting his squadron at Bombay With all necessary information, with respect to the harbour and fort of Geriah, determined, with the advice of a council of war, to proceed on the expedition without delay, being joined by a division of ships, fitted out at the company's expence, having on board a body of troops, commanded by Mr Clive, raised to the rank of lieutenant colonel since his return from Europe, he sailed on the fourth day of February 1756 and found in the neighbourhood of Geriah, the Marratta fleet, who had been equipped an armament both by sea

sea and land against the pirate. Rhamagee Punt who commanded the land army, amounting to 7000 men, had already taken one small fort, and was actually treating for the surrender of Geriah. Angria himself had quitted the place, but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law, who being summoned to surrender by the admiral replied, that he would defend the place to the last extremity: in consequence of this refusal, the whole English fleet, in two divisions sailed on the 12th of February into the harbour, and sustained a warm fire from the enemy's batteries as they passed. This, however, was soon silenced after the ships were brought to their stations; a shell being thrown into one of Angria's armed vessels set her on fire, and the flames communicating to the rest, they were all destroyed; the fort was set on fire by another shell, and soon after the firing ceased on both sides. The admiral suspecting that the governor of the place would surrender it to the Marrattas, rather than to the English, disembarked all the troops under Mr. Clive, that they might be at hand, in case of emergency to take possession; in the mean time the fort was bombarded; the line of battle ships were warped near enough to batter in breach; and then the admiral sent an officer with a flag of truce to the governor, requiring him to surrender; his proposal being again rejected, the English ships renewed their fire next day with redoubled vigour; the magazine of the fort being blown up, the garrison hung out a white flag for capitulation; the parley that ensued, proving ineffectual, the engagement began again, and remained till the white flag was again displayed, and

now

now the governor submitted to the terms which were imposed: the flag of Angria was struck, and two captains from Clive's army, at the head of a detachment, took possession of the fort, and immediately hoisted the British colours.

The admiral having thus reduced the capital of the pirate's dominions, determined to carry off all the stores, in order to prevent Angria from rendering it again formidable to Europe, or merchantships in these seas: he found in the place two hundred pieces of cannon, six large mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, with money and effects, to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds; but this loss, however fatal, it might prove to Angria, was not the greatest; his whole fleet, and a great number of Gallivats were totally destroyed. Among the prisoners the admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, towards whom he demeaned himself with great humanity; three hundred European soldiers, and as many sea-poys were left to guard the fort, and four of the company's armed vessels remained in the harbour, for the defence of the place, which was extremely well situated for commerce. Though colonel Clive claimed some merit in this acquisition, he was a mere spectator of the admiral, and his fleet's success and gallantry; which inspired him with envy, the passion of little souls; if he had no share in the glory of reducing this place, he did not forget to demand a part of the booty.

The Admiral and Mr. Clive sailed back to Madras, and there another plan was formed by Mr. Watson, for restoring the Company's affairs upon

upon the Ganges ; recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel Viceroy of Bengal. In October, the Admiral and the Colonel set sail again for the bottom of the Bay, and about the beginning of December arrived at Ballassore, in the kingdom of Bengal ; they proceeded up the Ganges as far as Falta, where they found Governor Drake, and the other persons who had escaped on board the ships when Calcutta was invested. Colonel Clive was disembarked with his forces to attack the fort of Busbudiga by land, while the Admiral battered it by sea : but the place being ill provided with cannon, did not hold out above an hour after the firing began. This conquest being achieved at a very easy purchase, two of the great ships anchored between Tann fort and a battery on the other side of the river, which were abandoned before any shot were discharged against either ; thus the passage was laid open to Calcutta.

On the 31st of January 1757, Admiral Watson, with two ships appeared before the town, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries : this salute was returned so warmly, that the enemy's guns were soon silenced, and in less than two hours, the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other side invested the town, and the land forces under his command made their attack with that vigour and intrepidity, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement. As soon as the fort surrendered, the brave and active Captain Coote, with the King's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon,

four

four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores and provisions with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege, had the Indian garrison availed themselves of all these advantages. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses on the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen killed and three soldiers; which shows in how despicable a light we must consider the enemy they had to encounter; it would be ungenerous to deprive the Admiral of the merit of his naval operations, to which the success of this enterprize was chiefly due.

A few days after, Hugly a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty. The loss of this place was of infinite consequence to the Nabob, as here, his store-houses of salt, and vast granaries for the support of his army were burnt and destroyed. Enraged at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hugly, the Viceroy assembled an army of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the Admiral for a re-inforcement of men, and five hundred seamen under the command of Captain Warwick, were accordingly draughted from the different ships, and sent to assist his army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy; and

and he had scarcely begun the attack, than the Viceroy retreated, without giving the victors an opportunity to triumph over a feeble resistance. The Indians in this rout lost a thousand men, killed, wounded and taken prisoners; five hundred horses, great number of draught bullocks, and four elephants. The effeminate and luxurious Asiatics, are always intimidated at the very sight of a handful of Europeans in battle array. To this knowledge of their faint-heartedness, and of the panic fright which seizes their weak organs at the very report of fire arms, we may fairly attribute Mr. Clive's fortune and reputation in war.

Though this advantage was less decisive than could have been expected from disciplined troops in pursuit of barbarians, incapable to make an orderly retreat; yet it forced the Nabob to make great concessions to the company. He promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the Phirmand granted by the Mogul. That all merchandize belonging to the company, should pass and repass in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: That all damages sustained by the English should be repaired and their losses repaid: That the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption, That they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province: That he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English; and use his utmost endeavours to heal up the late divisions, and

F. restore

restore the former good understanding between them.' All which several articles were signed and sealed the ninth of February with the Nabob's own hand.

Such were the terms obtained for the company, which, however advantageous, colonel Clive represented as delusive promises of a barbarian extorted from his present humiliation and necessity. But he artfully dissembled his selfish views in these insinuations, as a cruel tragedy to be acted upon the Viceroy, already designed the victim of his competitors avarice, until this act of injustice and perfidy could be coloured with the plausibleness of rendering permanent the company's possessions in Bengal, by the murder of this faithless prince.

The next object of the English commanders on this side of the Ganges, was the reduction of Chandénagore, a French settlement higher up the river than Calcutta, and of the most importance of any possessed by them in the Bay of Bengal. Colonel Clive being re-inforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandénagore, at the head of seven hundred Europeans, and one thousand five hundred Indians, where on his arrival the 17th of March, he took possession of all the out-posts abandoned by the enemy, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be silenced by the Admiral. On the eighteenth, the Admirals Watson and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger and Salisbury men of war, and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These dis-

difficulties being removed, they advanced early the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort which they battered with great fury for three hours ; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land side. The batteries raised by some able engineers in his army, played vigorously ; these united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submit. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tiger, and in the afternoon colonel Clive with his troops took possession. The reduction of this fortress, in which was a numerous garrison, well provided with provisions and warlike stores, was effected with the loss of forty men only, by the success of the batteries of the men of war, and the apprehension of a bombardment from the naval commanders.

By the treaty of capitulation, the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel. The Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties ; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable ; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head settlement of the French on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

Now, that the French power was destroyed, colonel Clive resolved to accomplish his designs against the Viceroy, upon whom he animadverted severely for his pretended delays in the
 exe-

execution of several articles of the treaty. He complained that the company's goods were still loaded with high duties, and several other infractions of the peace, before the prince had had time to make the new arrangements agreed upon. He taxed him with the intention of coming to an open rupture on the first opportunity. He magnified the danger of recommencing hostilities against so powerful a prince, and influenced the council of Calcutta to imbibe these groundless fears and jealousies; in the mean time, he caused his emissaries in the Viceroy's court, to sound the leading persons, and to make them sensible of their abjection and slavery. By the same practices he inspired the principal officers of his army with the spirit of discontent and sedition, and maintained that the peace of the country would never be restored unless either the English were expelled or the Nabob deposed.

An army formidable having been sent under the command of Mr. Dupree, to retake Chandernagore and to assist the Viceroy. Mr. Clive conscious he had no chance against disciplined veterans, bribed the French General, whom he caused immediately to write to the Nabob, to let him know that the English were invincible.

One Omichund, the Viceroy's confidential servant, was also corrupted by Mr. Clive's insidious arts; he received four lack of rupees, to tell his master of an agreement made between the English and Monsieur Dupree to attack him.

Then he roused the ambition of Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander a nobleman of great influence and authority in the

the province, and prevailed on him to become a traitor and an usurper. Clive knew that death commonly follow the deposition of princes, and was sure to engage Jaffier Ali Khan, to act according to the maxims of this detestable policy. The colonel stipulated for his assistance in the new Viceroy's promotion, a part of Sulajud Dowla's treasures, that could satisfy the most extended wishes of avarice. The conspiracy was by mutual agreement, communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, second in council at Calcutta, and they availed themselves of the address of this gentleman to insure success. When the plan was fully concerted, and after colonel Clive had secured the disaffected Indians, and the council, he took the field with his army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandernagore, and the garrison was detached to re-inforce the colonel, together with fifty seamen, to be employed as gunners and in directing the artillery. On the nineteenth of June, a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river forming the island Cassembuzer: this place surrendered at the first summons; and here the colonel halted with the army three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan; but finding himself disappointed of the wished-for intelligence, he crossed the river on the twenty-second; and the same day attacked the Viceroy, at the head of twenty thousand disaffected slaves, Ali Khan declining as yet to declare himself openly, though he had gained the army to his party. After a short contest, the enemy were put to flight; the Nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces

pieces of cannon taken, and an inglorious victory obtained over the Viceroy and some of his guards, who were not in the secret of the causes of this general defection. The colonel taking advantage of Sulajud Dowla's distressed situation, surrounded by traitors and enemies, marched to Muxadavar, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malecontents. It had been previously agreed that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of Nabob. Accordingly the colonel in open violation to the laws of nations, proceeded solemnly to depose Sulajud Dowla, and with the same ceremony, to substitute Ali Khan in his room, whom the passive Indians were compelled by military force to acknowledge as Subah of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá. Such a daring outrage to all the princes of the East, was looked on by them as an unparalleled instance of injustice and effrontery. The next odious step taken by this mock sovereign was to plunge his dagger to the breast of his master and benefactor. This execrable deed rank the perpetrators among savage ruffians. Even supposing that Sulajud Dowla had the hostile and treacherous designs, imputed to him, the company's forces were sufficient to oblige him to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed, according to the laws of war, without having recourse to an army of cowards and the most hardened villains. From this transaction, Mr. Clive derived chiefly his immense wealth, titles and honours.

Ali Khan readily complied with the conditions
of

of his elevation ; he conferred on his allies such liberal rewards, and granted the company so extraordinary privileges, as fully demonstrated how unsettled he thought himself in his new dignity, without their friendship and their assistance. By this alliance and the reduction of Chanderagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies ; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond the most sanguine hopes. As the interest of this new ally, obliged him to remain firm to his engagements, he paid above two millions sterling to the company, and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify their losses and gratified the soldiers and seamen, with the sum of 600,000 l. these advantageous concessions, and excessive liberalities, made the company wink at the disgraceful means by which they were obtained.

This great revolution was effected in the space of fourteen days, and the government of three fertile, populous, wealthy, and extensive provinces transferred, by the devices of an officer untutored in the art of war, and a fortunate adventurer without instruction and experience.

Mr. Clive had made free with admiral Watson's name, after his death, to a treaty calculated for his purpose

Amidst these successes, the company lost Vizagapatam, one of their settlements on the Coromandel coast, and the pation, Admiral Watson, who fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate, on the sixteenth of August universally regretted. The factory and fort at Vizagapatam, were surrendered to the French a few days after colonel Clive had made a new Nabob.

Perhaps this remote power will, one day either serve to drain from the mother country, all its useful hands, or our victories will teach the native barbarians to avail themselves of their numbers, and by being frequently defeated, they will at last learn to conquer.

The war was carried on in the East Indies with great vigour, though not always with success; the French general Lally, was employed in making preparations for the siege of Madras; under his guidance, the French affairs seemed for some time to wear a better face; he had taken Fort St. David's, plundered a town belonging to the King of Tanjour, in alliance with the English, and after laid siege to his capital; failing in his design upon this city, he had entered the province of Arcot, and flattered himself with the easy conquest of the chief settlement of our company, upon the coast of Coromandel. On the twelfth of December 1758, he marched over Choullery plain, in three divisions, cannonaded by the English artillery, and took post Egmore and St. Thome. Colonel Lawrence who commanded the garrison at Madras, retired to the island, in order to prevent the enemy, taking possession of the Island-bridge, and at the same time ordered the posts to be occupied in the black town or suburbs of Madras. In the morning of the fourteenth the enemy marching with their whole force to attack this place, the English detachment retreated into the garrison, and within the hour a grand rally was made, under the command of colonel Draper, an officer who wrote in his tent like Cæsar, and appeared in the field with the same cool intrepidity.

pidity; he attacked the regiment of Lorrain with great impetuosity, and would have cut them off, had they not been sustained by the arrival of a fresh brigade. After a very warm dispute, the colonel dissatisfied with the conduct of his grenadiers, made a judicious retreat; as the garrison of Madraſs was not very numerous, nothing more was attempted on their ſide without the works. The enemy opened their batteries againſt the fort and town, on the ſixth day of January, 1759, and maintained a continued diſcharge of ſhot and ſhells for twenty days, advancing their trenches all the time under cover of this fire, until they reached the breaſt of the Glaciſ. In the ſiege of this important fortreſs, a greater variety of difficulties preſented than Mr. Lally expected. The artillery of the garrison was well managed, while on the other ſide the French acted with their uſual impatience and impetuosity. Mr. Lally in order to intimidate the inhabitants, cruelly bombarded the town and demolished the houſes; he was however happily diſappointed in his expectation, by the wiſe and reſolute precautions of Governor Pigot; by the vigilance, conduct and bravery of the colonels Lawrence and Draper, ſeconded by the valour and activity of Major Brereton, and the ſpirit of the inferior officers. While theſe operations were carried on before the town, Major Caillaud with a body of troops, drawn from the Engliſh garrison of Trichenapoly and Chingliput, blocked up the roads in ſuch a manner, that the enemy were obliged ſeveral times, to ſend large detachments againſt him, in order to open the communication. Thus the progreſs of the

siege was in some measure retarded. On the 16th day of February in the evening, the Queenborough ship of war, commanded by captain Kempenfelt, and the company's ship the Revenge, arrived in the road of Madras, with a reinforcement of 600 men belonging to Colonel Draper's regiment; and part of them were immediately disembarked. From the beginning of the siege, the enemy had discovered a backwardness in the service, very unsuitable to their national character. They were ill supplied with provisions, discouraged by the obstinate defence of the garrison, and all their hopes vanished at the arrival of this reinforcement; it was in vain, that their commander exhorted them to proceed, though a breach was made and lay open for fifteen days, no one of them dared to venture to the assault; after a brisk fire they raised the siege; and this miscarriage so entirely depressed the ardour of the enemy, that they appeared quite dispirited in almost every ensuing engagement. In this manner therefore their affairs went on declining no less by land than by sea; the chagrin and mortification of Lally were strongly marked in the intercepted letter he wrote to Mr. de Legret, dated the camp before Madras. He concluded it in the following words: "I had rather go and command the castles of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom, which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or latter, even though that from Heaven should not." And in the postscript, "I undertake only to bring the army back, either to Arcote or Sedrasse; for I shall quit it upon my arrival there." Having destroyed the

mills at Ogmoo, the French retreated to the territories of Arcot.

Though colonel Clive had no small share in the relief or defence of Madras, I thought proper to mention some particulars of this siege, to follow the thread of the military operations in the East Indies. This was the first regular and obstinate siege carried on by Europeans in Indostan, during this war. As the commanders on both sides were men of military knowledge acquired by study, and improved by actual service: they were rivals in sentiment and a passion for glory, above craving rapaciousness and sordid avarice.

Mr. Clive enjoyed then at Calcutta his jaghire, the fruit of successful arms and depredations.

The English forces in the East Indies, being as yet too weak to cope with Lally in the field, little detached expeditions were planned and executed, with equal vigour and conduct. Colonel Ford who commanded the troops in Bengal, obtained a complete victory over the French commander Conflans, in the neighbourhood of Muzulipatam, which he afterwards entered in triumph. At the same time, captain Richard Maitland was detached from Bomaay, in February, with 1500 seapoys and 900 Europeans, on an expedition against the seapoys who possessed the town and castle of Surat. Notwithstanding the fire of the enemy, ranged in a line of battle opposite the Bundar, which was the strongest fortification in these parts; he landed his troops and took the Bundar by assault. The outward town being thus gained, he began to bombard the town and castle, with such fury, that next morning they

they surrendered, but on condition of being allowed to march out with their effects ; and captain Maitland took possession without farther dispute. This conquest, which cost two hundred men, including officers, was achieved with such expedition, that he returned to Bombay by the ninth of April.

The main body of the English forces, which had been centered at Madras, for the preservation of this important settlement, took the field after the siege was raised, and possessed themselves of Conjiveram, a place of great consequence, which with the fort of Schengelpel, commanded all the adjacent country, and secured the British possessions to the northward. Mr. Lally, sensible of the importance of the post, took the same route, in order to dislodge them ; but finding all his attempts ineffectual ; his troops were put in quarters of cantonment. Major Brereton who commanded the English forces, being joined by Major Gordon with three hundred men of colonel Coote's battalion, resolved to attack the enemy in his turn. On the fourteenth day of September he began his march from Conjiveram for Wandervash, at the head of four hundred Europeans, ~~seven~~ thousand sea-boys, seventy European and three hundred black horse, with fourteen pieces of artillery. In his march, he invested and took the fort of Trivitar, from whence he proceeded to the village of Wandervash, where the French to the number of one thousand were strongly encamped, under the guns of a fort commanded by a Raja, mounting twenty cannon, under the direction of a French gunner. The English attacked the vil-
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lage in three different places, and drove them from it, after a very obstinate dispute; but this advantage they were not able to maintain. At day-break, the fort poured in upon them a prodigious discharge of grape shot, with a considerable effect, the enemy made furious sallies, and the English in this emergency retired in disorder, though the body of reserve effectually covered their retreat, this could not be effected without the loss of several officers and above 300 hundred men killed and wounded. The rainy season setting in, they retired after this mortifying check to Conjiveram. The fort of Vandevash was afterwards garrisoned by French and seapoys, and the other forces of the enemy were assembled by brigadier general de Buff, at Arcot.

During these transactions at land, the superiority at sea was still disputed between the English and French Admirals. On the first day of September, Vice Admiral Pocock, sailed from Madras in quest of the enemy, and the next day descried the French fleet; but he could not bring them to an engagement, till the tenth, when Mr. Dapche, about two in the afternoon, made the signal for battle, and the cannonading began without further delay. The British squadron did not exceed nine ships of the line; the enemy's fleet consisted of eleven; but they had still a greater advantage in men and artillery. Both squadrons fought with great impetuosity, till above ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way; this example was soon followed by their centre; and finally the van with the whole squadron

dron bore to the south-east, with all the canvass they could spread. The British squadron was so much damaged in their masts and rigging, that they could not pursue; so that Monsieur Dapche retired at his leisure unmolested. On the side of the English above 300 men were killed in the engagement with captain Michie, who commanded the Newcastle. The captains Somerlet and Breton, with about 250 men were wounded, and many of the ships considerably damaged, the loss of the enemy must have been much more considerable, as the French squadron was crowded with men. They now made the best of their way to the island of Mauritius, and left the English masters of the Indian coast. The French so superior in number of ships and men, always declined a decisive engagement.

The French were not the only enemies the English had to fear in this part of the world. The jealousy of the Dutch was excited by the late extension of our power in the kingdom of Bengal, and our flourishing-trade whetted the avarice of their factors, who possessed a strong fort at Chincura; they were resolved, if possible, to engross the whole salt-petre branch of commerce, this dispute, however trifling it may seem, may one day, be of greater consequence than it appears at present. They had without doubt tampered with the new Nabob, and probably secured his connivance; he thought he had sufficiently payed Mr. Clive, and the company for their assistance; and a treaty cemented by murder and treason, the crimes of ambition and avarice, was but a convention between unprincipled competitors, which is commonly broke as soon

soon as the contracting parties find their convenience and their advantage in the infraction. The scheme of the Dutch was approved by the governor of Batavia, who charged himself with the execution of it ; and for that purpose, chose the opportunity, when the British squadron had retired to the coast of Malabar ; on pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garrison in Bengal ; he equipped an armament of seven ships, having on board five hundred European troops and five hundred Malayese, under the command of colonel Ruffel. This armament having touched at Negapatam, proceeded up the bay and arrived in the river of Bengal, about the beginning of October. Colonel Clive, who then resided at Calcutta, the seat of his princely government, had received information of their design, which it was incumbent on him, if possible, to defeat. He complained to the Subah his friend and confederate, who, upon such application, could not without the detection of his perfidy, refuse an equivocal order to the Director and Council of Hughley, rather implying that this armament should not proceed up the river. The colonel at the same time, sent a letter to the Dutch commodore intimating that as he had received intelligence of the intention of his armament, he could not allow him to land forces ~~and march~~ to Chincura. To this declaration, the Dutchman answered, that he had no such designs as were imputed to him ; and he only requested liberty to land his troops to refresh them, which was readily granted, on condition that they should not advance. Notwithstanding the Subah's engagements with Mr. Clive, he proved himself

as faithless to his English allies, as he had been treacherous to his master. The Dutch commodore had made these concessions only till he knew that the ships which were to second his operations were come up the river, and then throwing off the mask, he proceeded to the neighbourhood of Tannaafort, where his forces being disembarked, began their march to Chincura. Their plan was to render this place so formidable, as to be able to bid defiance to the power of the English company, and thus secure to themselves the trade for salt petre, which this place afforded.

In the mean time, to retaliate, for the affront he pretended to have received, in being denied a passage to their own factory, he took several small vessels, belonging to the English company; and the Calcutta indiaman, commanded by captain Wilson, homeward bound, sailing down the river, the Dutchman gave him to understand, that if he presumed to pass he would sink him without farther ceremony. The English captain seeing them point their guns, as if he really resolved to put his threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other india ships lay at anchor, and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who instantly ordered the three ships to prepare for battle and attack the Dutch armament. The ships being properly manned, and their quarters ~~in~~ with salt petre, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch squadron drawn up in line of battle, in order to give them a warm reception, for which indeed they seemed well prepared for three of them were mounted

mounted with thirty-six guns each; three of them with twenty-six, and the seventh carried sixteen. The Duke of Dorset, commanded by captain Forrester, being the first that approached them, dropped anchor close to their line, and began the engagement with a broadside, which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately intervening, this single ship was for a considerable time exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a small breeze springing up, the Calcutta and the Hardwick advanced to her assistance, and a severe fire was maintained on both sides, till two of the Dutch ships slipping their cables, bore away and a third was driven on shore. Their commodore thus weakened, after a few broadsides struck his flag to captain Wilson, and the other three followed his example; the victory being thus obtained, without the loss of one man on the side of the English, captain Wilson took possession of the prizes, the decks of which were strewed with carnage, and sent the prisoners to colonel Clive at Calcutta. The detachment of troops which they had landed, to the number of eleven hundred men, was not more fortunate in their progress. Colonel Clive receiving intelligence that they were in full march to Chinchura, detached colonel Ford with five hundred men for Calcutta, in order to oppose and put a stop to their march, at the French gardens. He accordingly advanced to the northward, and entered the town of Chandanagore, where he sustained the fire of a Dutch party, sent out from Chinchura, to join and conduct the expected re-inforcement. These, be-
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ing routed and dispersed, after a short action. Colonel Ford in the morning proceeded to a plain in the neighbourhood of Chinchura, where he found the enemy prepared to give him battle on the 25th day of November. They even advanced to the charge with great resolution and activity; but found the fire of the English artillery and battalion so intolerably hot, that they soon gave way, and were totally defeated. A considerable number were killed, and the greater part of those who survived the action were taken prisoners. During this contest the Nabob at the head of a considerable army, observed a suspicious neutrality, and in all likelihood would have declared for the Dutch, had they proved victorious, as he had reason to believe they would, from their great superiority in number; but fortune no sooner determined in favour of the English, than he made a tender of his services to the victor, and even offered to reduce Chinchura with his army. Mr. Clive thought it more consistent with his interest and reputation to dissemble, than to shew his resentment to this perfidious ally, as a rupture between them might have brought to light certain transactions which the colonel wished to hide from the knowledge of the public.

In the mean time proposals of accommodation being sent to the Subah, by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, a negotiation ensued and a treaty was concluded to the seeming satisfaction of all parties. Above 300 of the prisoners entered into the service of Great Britain; the rest embarked on board their ships,

which

which were restored as soon as the peace was notified; and set out on their return to Batavia. The English demands were, that the director and council of Chinchura should give full satisfaction, to the president and council of Fort William, for the insult offered to the British flag, by the commanders of the Dutch ships, and for the detention of the English company's vessels; fined and stopt in the river, contrary to treaties. All the satisfaction the governor and council of Calcutta received on that account was a disavowal of the governor and council of Chinchura, having given orders to commit these acts of hospitality.

The Dutch demands were, that the English should prevail on the Nabob to remain quiet in his camp, without doing them any injury, which they engaged to do. The Dutch officers and troops detained by the English, were considered as prisoners of the Nabob.

In answer to the Dutch proposals, the Nabob agreed that the purchases and sales of the Dutch company should be carried on according to custom, excepting the salt-petre of Azimabad, which was to be purchased by the means of Raja Ramnarair Bahadar; that nobody should obstruct the provision of cloth, &c. according to the custom of the Aurungs.

The Dutch company engaged to bring no more armed forces into the country of Bengal, nor ever make war in the country, nor erect any fortifications, nor make any military preparations, and that they should entertain no more than 125 European soldiers in all their factories established within the three provinces; and in case of any disputes or
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oppressions that they would apply for redress to the Nazem of the provinces.

After all perhaps the Dutch company meant nothing more than to put their factory at Chinchura on a more respectable footing; and by acquiring greater weight and consequence among the people of the country, than they formerly possessed, the more easily extend their commerce in that part of the world. At any rate it will admit of a dispute among those who profess the law of nature and nations, whether the Dutch company could be justly debarred the privilege of sending a reinforcement to their own garrisons. Their ships were not restored, until the factory at Chinchura had given security to indemnify the English for the damage they had sustained on this occasion.

This contest was represented in very different lights to the respective governments at home; the Dutch declaimed against the English, oppressing all who attempted to trade in the Indies; while the English on the other hand, reminded the Dutch of their former cruelties, and of their desire of gain, even at the expence of every moral obligation. However the Dutch wisely gave way to a power they were unable to withstand; though the peace was restored seemingly to the satisfaction of all parties, such is the present situation of this contest, which may probably produce the seeds of future dissension. The Dutch will upon all occasions, think it allowable to increase their power in India to whatever pitch they think proper; and the English will ever find their interest to repel them. It may thus happen, that the amity of the two powers in Europe will not be sufficient to preserve unani-

animity in so distant a part of the world. In this manner, while Great Britain puts an end to one war, she often lays the foundation for another; far extended empire ever produces an increasing necessity of defence. The success of the English company's forces headed by commanders of untainted honour, and animated by that true courage which calls forth and unfolds the liberal virtues of the soul, was much more conspicuous against the French on the coast of Coromandel. There was an ample field for military emulation, as the leaders of the opposite armies were soldiers, who fought for glory, not for plunder, and to quench an insatiable thirst after riches against the dictates of justice and humanity. The governor and council of Madras having received information that General Lally had sent a detachment of his army to the southward, taken Syringham, and threatened Trichinapolly with a siege, it was determined that colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England, should take the field. This prudent and brave officer began his march at the head of 1700 Europeans, including, cavalry and 3000 blacks, with fourteen pieces of cannon and one howitz; he took the city of Vandervash in his way, reduced Carangoly a fortress commanded by colonel O'Kennedy, and at length came up with the French general, who was equally desirous of the engagement. It is remarkable enough, that the commanders on either side ~~or~~ countrymen, but this did not, in the least, abate their attachment to the different crowns they served. General Lally alarmed at the progress of this valiant, enterprising and vigilant officer, assembled all his forces at

Arcoot to the number of 2200 Europeans including horse, 300 Castaries, and 10,000 black troops, or seapoys, with 25 pieces of cannon.

On the tenth day of January, 1760, he began his march in order to recover Vandevash. Colonel Coote having received intelligence on the twelfth, that he had taken possession of Conjeram, endeavoured by a forced march to save the place, which they accordingly abandoned at his approach. On the twenty first day of the month, colonel Coote advanced within two miles of the enemy's camp, where he halted with his army about half an hour. During this interval, he reconnoitered the situation of the French forces who were very advantageously posted, and made a movement to the right, which obliged them to alter their disposition. They now advanced in their turn, within a quarter of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. Their European cavalry coming up, about noon, with a resolute air to charge the left of the English, colonel Coote, brought up some companies of sea poys and two pieces of cannon, to sustain the horse, which were ordered to oppose them, and these advancing on their flank, disheartened them so much that they broke and were driven by the English cavalry above a mile from the left upon the rear of their own army; mean while both lines continued advancing to each other, and about one o'clock the firing with small arms began with great vivacity. Major Brereton was ordered to wheel Draper's regiment to the left and fall upon the enemy's flank, this service was performed with such resolution and success, that the left wing of the French was completely

pletely routed, and fell upon their centre, now closely engaged with the left of the English. The engagement continued with much obstinacy till about two in the afternoon, when the whole line of the French gave way, and fled towards their own camp; which however they as quickly abandoned and left their cannon and the field of battle to the conquerors. In this engagement they lost about 800 men killed and wounded, besides about fifty prisoners, including Brigadier General de Buffy, the Chevalier Godeville quarter-master general, lieutenant colonel Murphy, three captains, five lieutenants and some other officers. On the side of the English 262 were killed or wounded, and among the former the gallant and accomplished Major Brereton, whose death was a real loss to his country.

Disconcerted at this defeat and dreading a second attack from colonel Coote, the French general retired with his broken troops to Pondicherry; the baron de Vasserot was detached towards the same place with 1000 horse and 300 seapoys to ravage and lay waste the French territories.

In the mean time, the indefatigable colonel Coote, undertook the siege of Chilliput, which in two days was surrendered by the chevalier de Tilly, himself and his grandse-remaining prisoners of war. Such also was the fate of fort Timmiery, which being reduced, the colonel prosecuted his march to Arcot, the capital of the province, against the fort of which he opened his batteries on the fifth day of February. When he had carried on his approaches within sixty yards

yards of the crest of the glacis, the garrison consisting of 250 Europeans and 300 seapoys surrendered as prisoners of war; and here the English commander found twenty-two pieces of cannon, four mortars and a great quantity of military stores.

Thus the campaign was gloriously finished with the conquest of Arcot, after the French army had been routed and ruined by the diligence of colonel Coote, whose courage, conduct and activity cannot be sufficiently admired.

After the reduction of Arcot, the garrisons of Permacoil and Allamparva surrendered themselves prisoners of war in the beginning of May. The important settlement of Corical was reduced by the sea and land forces commanded by rear-admiral Cornish and major Monson, and the French garrison made prisoners of war. Nothing now remained to them of all their vast possessions in India, but Pondicherry. This capital of the French Indian power, in the days of its prosperity, exceeded all other European settlements there, in trade, opulence and splendor; and was still the repository of all the French wealth, which remained after repeated defeats. As soon as the fortresses adjacent to this important place were reduced, colonel Coote sat down before it resolved upon ~~the~~ blockade by land, while admiral Stevens shut up their harbour by sea; a regular siege was ~~at~~ at time impracticable, from the periodical rains which in that climate were soon expected to obstruct such operations. These disadvantages were even sufficient to repress any attempts whatsoever; but notwithstanding the in-

inclemency of the climate, the English commander continued before the place for full seven months; neither rains nor storms were in the least able to abate their assiduity; they continued the siege and pressed the garrison in such a manner, that they were reduced to the most extreme distress. Lally, however, was resolutely bent on suffering every calamity rather than yield this last stake of French power in India, though his soldiers were obliged to feed on dogs and cats, and even bought such wretched provisions extremely dear (eight crowns having been given for the flesh of a dog) yet still he determined to hold out in the midst of this distress, fortune seemed to give an opportunity of relief, had it been properly seconded.

In the beginning of January 1761, one of those terrible storms, which are common in those climates, but of whose violence we can have but little idea in Europe, wrecked a large part of the English fleet that was blocking up the harbour of Pondicherry. The ships of war called the Duke of Aquitaine and the Sunderland foundered in the storm, and their crews perished. The Newcastle, the Queenborough, and Protector fireships were driven ashore and destroyed; but the men were saved, together with the cannon, stores and provisions, many other ships sustained considerable damage, which, however, was soon repaired. This was a blow which once more elevated the hopes of the desponding garrison, the governor now flattered himself with the hope of being supplied with provisions; and once more animated his soldiers long sunk by disease, famine, fatigue, and uninter-

interrupted adversity. He immediately wrote to Monsieur Raymond French resident at Pullicat, a Dutch settlement for instant assistance ; his eager-impatience appears in the letter he sent, it is no bad sketch of the writer's character, which seems to have had a strong tincture of oddity and extravagance.

" The English Squadron is no more, Sir, of the
 " twelve ships they had in our road, seven were
 " lost, crew and all, the other four dismasted ; and
 " no more than one frigate hath escaped, lose not
 " an instant in sending chelingoos upon chelingoos,
 " loaded with rice ; the Dutch have nothing to
 " fear now ; besides according to the law of nations
 " they are only restricted from sending us
 " provisions in their own bottoms and we are no
 " longer blockaded by sea ; the salvation of Pondi-
 " cherry has been once in your power already : if
 " you neglect this opportunity, the fault will be
 " all your's, offer great rewards, in four days I
 " expect 17000 marattees, in short risque all, at-
 " tempt all, force all, and send us some rice,
 " should it be but half a garse at a time."

Admiral Stevens having intercepted this letter, dispatched immediately letters to the Dutch and Danish settlements on this coast, intimating, that notwithstanding the insinuations of general Lally, he had a ~~clever~~ ^{small} sail off the line with two frigates under his command, all fit for service, in the road of Pondicherry, which was closely invested and blockaded both by land and sea. He therefore declared, that as in that case, it was contrary to the laws of nations for any neutral power to relieve or succour the beleagued,

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he was determined to seize any vessel that should attempt to throw any provisions into the place.

In less than four days, Lally had the mortification to behold admiral Stevens again appearing in the harbour, who had repaired his losses with all possible celerity; and the blockade now became as complete as ever. Still, however, he made no proposals to surrender, while the siege was carried on by his countryman with redoubled vigour: at length the French general found his troops half consumed with fatigue and famine; a breach made in the rampart and not more than one day's provision of any kind remaining; he was now reduced to an extremity that would admit of no hesitation. A signal was therefore made to cease hostilities; the principal of the Jesuits, together with a colonel and two civilians came out and offered terms of capitulation in the behalf of the French east india company. Lally however, could not be prevailed on to offer any terms; he sent a paper filled with reproaches against the English to colonel Coote, and alledged that he would not treat with an enemy upon the honourable terms of war; who had already forfeited his honour in several instances. He therefore suffered the English troops to take possession of the place, but refused to surrender it in usual forms.

General Lally did set forth in his grievances, against the English, that the taking of Chandernagore, was contrary to the faith of treaties, and of that of the neutrality subsisting between the nations in that part of India.

That immediately after the signal service which the

the French nation had rendered the English, not only in taking no part against them with the Nabob of Bengal, but in receiving them in their settlements to give them time to recover from their first losses as appeared from the letters of Mr. Pigot, and from the council of Madras to that of Pondicherry, they had refused to fulfill the conditions of the cartel agreed upon between their respective sovereigns, though it was at first accepted by Mr. Pigot.

He demanded merely from a principle of justice and humanity, that the mother and sisters of Reza Saib, should be permitted to seek an asylum where they pleased, and be not delivered up to Mahomed Ally Khan's hands, which was still red with the blood of the husband and father; that he had spilt to the shame indeed, of those who gave them up to him, but not less to the shame of the commander of the English army, who should not have allowed such a piece of barbarity to be committed in his army.

Colonel Coote answered, that he could not take cognizance of what passed at Chandernagore, the particulars having been transmitted to his Britannic Majesty, by the officer to whom the place surrendered.

He agreed that the mother and sisters of Reza Sub, ~~should be~~ escorted to Madras, where proper care should be taken for their safety: that they should not of any account be delivered into the hands of Nabob Mahomed Ally Khan.

When colonel Coote took possession of the town and citadel, he found a great quantity of
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artillery, ammunition, small arms and military stores; then he found the garrison to amount to above 2000 Europeans. Lally made a gallant defence, and had he been properly supplied with provisions, the conquest of the place would not have been so easily achieved. An officer of his experience should have demanded a capitulation before he was reduced to the necessity of acquiescing to any terms the besieged might have thought proper to impose.

By the reduction of Pondicherry the French interest was annihilated on the coast of Coromandel, and therefore of the utmost importance to the British nation; it may be doubted however, whether colonel Coote, with all his spirit, vigilance and military talents, could have succeeded in this enterprize without the assistance of the squadron; which co-operated with him by sea and effectually excluded all succour from the besieged. The land and sea officers, vied with each other in contributing their utmost efforts towards the success of the expedition. This conquest terminated the power of France in India; the whole trade of that vast peninsula, from the Indies to the Ganges became our own, the most extensive and profitable sphere of commerce in the world. The Princes of the country knew the English force, and learned to fear it. The English east India company have become the arbiters of empire. The Mogul himself has been defeated and taken prisoner. Happy if the company's servants had known when to bound the immoderate desires of their avarice and their ambition, and happy if they had been convinced that when they shone bright-

est with the spoils of the east, the company sick-
a wasting raper was only hastening to decay.

It is proper to inform the reader, that Jaffier Ali Khan, who had been established Nabob or Subah of Bengal by the army of the English, was now for his cruelty and mal-administration deposed by the influence and address of the English president Vansittart, and the government conferred on his son-in-law, Mir Mahomed Ali-Khan, who confirmed and augmented the privileges of the English company.

After the reduction of Pondicherry, a body of forces was embarked at Bombay, for an expedition against the French settlement at Mîhie, situated on the coast of Malabar, about thirty miles to the northward of Tellichery. Major Hector Monro, who was entrusted with this command took his measures so well in concert with Mr. Hodges, commander at Tellichery and acted with so much vigour in the execution of the scheme; that in the beginning of February, Mr. Lovat, governor of the French garrison at Mîhie, surrendered the place with all its dependencies; though this acquisition was of no great consequence to the English, merely as a trading port, the last was severely felt by the enemy, who had fortified it at a considerable expence, and mounted the fortifications with above 200 pieces of cannon.

The French officers in the East Indies, tried to recover by craftiness, what they had lost by the force of arms. They employed the arts of insinuation with such success, as to interest in their cause a prince of the Mogul Empire, called Shad Zadda, who took the field at the head of fourscore thousand men against the forces of the English East

India company, commanded by Major John Carnack, and reinforced by the Suba of Bengal, this whole army consisted of 500 Europeans, 2500 seapoys, and 20,000 black troops, with twelve pieces of cannon.. Both sides advanced to the neighbourhood of Guga, and on the 15th day of January, the Mogul army was defeated in a pitched battle, all their artillery was taken, together with part of their baggage, and a number of French officers, including Mr. Law, their principal commander. The Shah made an effort to join two Rajas, who had taken up arms against the Subah; but receiving intelligence that they were already reduced by the English troops, he surrendered at discretion to the Subah, who treated him with great respect, and promised with the assistance of the English company, to support him in his pretensions to the Mogul Empire. Count D'estaing had counterbalanced the success of the English in the Gulph of Persia, and at Sumatra, with a small squadron, he had made himself master of the English fort of Bendir-a Bassi, taken two frigates with three other vessels belonging to the company. The Fort of Nattal had surrendered to him at discretion, and he found two ships in the road. After these exploits, he sailed to Sumatra, where he reduced Benevuli; Tappanapoli, and Marlborough fort, which last, though in a good state of defence was ingloriously given up by the English, after they had themselves burned a rich company's ship that lay in the harbour.

The fleet in the East Indies commanded by vice-admiral Pocock towards the conclusion of the last war, consisted of eighteen ships from seven-

seventy to fifty guns, and in the other settlements five companies of colonel La Fausille, five companies of colonel Parflow, colonel Draper's regiment, lieutenant-colonel Coote's regiment and lieutenant-colonel Morris's highlander's.

We have carried on the military operations of the French and English on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, to the eve of the last peace; after Mr. Clive had abandoned the field to officers, who had not acquired a military renown by the pillage and slaughter of timid Asiatics, but in obstinate battles and sieges, against warlike and disciplined veterans. If we take a retrospect into the beginning of hostilities, in the peninsula within the Ganges, since the peace of Aix la Chapelle, we must think the English company entertained the most favourable opinion of the pacific disposition of the Indians, or a contemptible idea of their valour and military knowledge, as the defence and protection of their settlements were committed to Swiss and other obscure officers with a handful of men, who like their commanders, had never been trained up soldiers. They had that sordid mercantile spirit, which stimulated their avarice to acts of knavery and oppression, without prompting them to noble and generous exploits. Mr. Clive had observed, during his abode in India, that the company's servants, who acted in a military capacity, had more than an opportunity to acquire a rapid fortune, with little more dangers and fatigues, than in the civil station he had been brought up. It was this consideration that

influenced him to make a tender of his military services to the company in the absence of major Laurence, an officer of distinguished abilities, who knew Mr. Clive's ambition and admired his fortune. He fought always with a superior number against the Europeans, and found hardly any resistance and opposition against the Indians, who like a drove of cattle ran at the first onset. He was never engaged against armies of regulars headed in the field, or in desperate sieges by warlike commanders. When the French threatened with formidable forces from Europe, the destruction of the English company's settlements, Draper, Coote, and Brereton were the illustrious commanders, who by their skill, intrepidity and perseverance, harrassed, vanquished and subdued, inveterate enemies whose fame in arms had been almost unrivalled. During these glorious achievements, Mr. Clive pampered at Bengal in the affluence and luxury of an eastern potentate, sedulous to accumulate by lawless exactions and monopolies his ill-gotten treasure.

The colonel who had made Bengal his property, and assumed to himself the civil and military power, could not brook the humiliation of receiving orders and instructions from the directors of the company; and though he generally contrived to have them eluded in his presidency, yet the idea of his being subordinate, galled his haughty spirit, which aspired to a dictatorial authority above his superiors. He knew that in a commercial society, riches must carry a great sway, and in playing skilfully those engines

gines of bribery, he was sure to divide and command. Urged by these ambitious designs, he returned to England; where he could not fail of being treated by all ranks of people with the most flattering distinctions, after Mr. Pitt at that time, the idol of the nation had designed him in the senate by the appellation of *Heaven born general*. He might have said with more propriety, that war had been the gainful trade of this favourite son of Plutus.

Though he aspired to the English peerage, his wealth and the influence it always gives could not raise him to a dignity generally conferred upon commoners who have filled some important posts in the administration, and have at least family connections to plead, instead of merit. He had at last the modesty to solicit Irish honours, which his Sovereign was most graciously pleased to bestow upon him in 1762, by the stile and title of Baron Plassey, in memory of that famous battle, which gained him reputation, applause, wealth, censure and disgrace.

It was calculated that the company's servants had brought into England near six millions of treasure and jewels, since the common cement of hostilities in India; how this wealth was acquired will be seen in the sequel of this work.

In the year 1762 a plan of attack was formed at Madras, against the Philippine islands situated in the Indian ocean. Manilla a considerable city, in Luconia the largest of them, is the centre of the Spanish trade, from whence two large ships are sent annually a cross the vast pacific ocean to Acapulco on the coast of Mexico, laden with the
spices,

spices, stuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India. This plan was executed by part of the squadron of Vice Admiral Cornish, and a few battalions under the command of Brigadier general Draper, who had signalized himself in the defence of Madrafs, when it was besieged by the enemy. The troops allotted for this expedition consisted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery; and these were by the governor of Madrafs, reinforced with some able officers, about thirty men of the company's artillery, five hundred sea-poys, one company of caffres, one of topazes, one of pioneers, two companies of French deserters; with a few hundred of lascars, for the use of the engineers, and the park of artillery. Vice Admiral Cornish, supplied a strong battalion of seamen and marines; so that the whole force amounted to 2300 effective men; with which it was resolved to make an attempt upon the flourishing, extensive and populous city of Manilla. Major general Laurence, who commanded the forces of the East India company at Madrafs, was of opinion, that the settlement would be in danger, should a greater number of troops be drawn from the coast, and therefore the two battalions of the company's troops, the whole cavalry, 6000 sea-poys, with part of Monson's regiment, and the highlanders, were left for their security. At the same time orders were left for three ships of war which they hourly expected at Madrafs, to remain on that part of the coast for the protection of the commerce.

The Falmouth was left at the request of the president and council of Madrafs, to convoy the

Essex India ship, which had on board the treasure for the China cargoes; but she arrived time enough to have her share in the expedition to the Philippine isles.

The officers subordinate to brigadier-general Draper, were the lieutenant-colonels Menfon and Scot; major Barker commanded the artillery and major More, Mr. Drake and some other individuals in the East India company's service, were appointed to take care of the company's interests, according to the convention made with the president and council at Madras, relating to the success of the expedition. General Draper animated the troops with his usual gallantry and conduct, indeed every captain and officer, whether by land or water, exerted himself with uncommon diligence and resolution. The greatest harmony subsisted between the commanders, officers and men, in the different departments of the service; and the soldiers and seamen vied with each other in expressions of mutual good will, as well as in feats of valour and activity. The general disembarked his troops without the loss of one man, on the 29th of September, about two miles to the southward of Manilla, in spite of the enemy who had assembled in great numbers, both horse and infantry to oppose the descent, the captains King, Grant and Peighie, who commanded the covering frigates, maintained such a warm fire of cannon to the right and left, that they soon dispersed. In the mean while the Spanish garrison were employed in burning the suburbs of Manilla. Next day the general took possession of the Polvarista, a small fort which the enemy had abandoned, and which proved

proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the stores and artillery. The headquarters were fixed in the curate's house, and secured by the seventy-ninth regiment, of which Mr. Draper himself was colonel, as a post of the utmost importance, both from its strength and the commodious cover it afforded from the rains which had deluged the country, and rendered it impossible to encamp.

The governor having been twice summoned to surrender, returned a resolute refusal, as he thought he had but little to apprehend from an handful of enemies, who far from being in a condition to invest the city on all sides, were obliged to confine their operations in one corner, having two thirds of it open to all manner of supplies. The front which the general resolved to attack was defended by two bastions in good order, mounted with a great number of fine brass cannon; a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, a covered way and a glacis. Several mortars bombarded the town without ceasing; the artillery was so well served and the fire so well directed by the conduct and skill of Major Barker, that in a few hours twelve pieces of cannon mounted on the face of a bastion, were totally silenced, and the enemy obliged to retire.

- On the fourth of October, the cantonment of the seamen was attacked about three hours before day by a strong body of Indians, encouraged to this attempt by the incessant rains which they hoped had rendered the fire arms unserviceable. The alarm was no sooner given than colonel Monson and captain Fletcher advanced with the picquets to the assistance of the seamen. The assailants

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though armed chiefly with bows and lances, advanced in the most resolute manner to the attack, and fought with incredible ferocity; when repulsed, returned with redoubled fury to the very muzzles of the English musquets, and died like wild beasts knawing their bayonets; at day break they gave way and fled with great precipitation, having lost 300 men in their attack and retreat. The English soldiers though exposed without the least cover to the fire and missiles of another body of Indians, reinforced by Spanish troops, maintained their post; without flinching, and after a warm contest, dislodged the enemy, by the assistance of some field pieces and the resolute conduct of major Fell, captain Fletcher and other gallant officers sent to their relief. Captain Strahan of the seventy-eight regiment and lieutenant Porter of the Norfolk, two gallant officers, lost their lives in this furious onset, and fell universally regretted.

This was the enemy's last effort; the greater part of the Indians more warlike than upon the coast of Coromandel, less civilized and more inhuman, discouraged by repeated defeats, returned to their own habitations, the fire from the garrison grew faint; and all their defences appeared to be in a ruinous condition. On the fifth the fire of the besiegers was so well directed, that the breach became practicable; and it was hoped the garrison would demand a capitulation; but they seemed to be obstinate and fullen, without courage or activity. They neglected all means of obtaining favourable terms, without having taken the resolution to defend the breach, so that the English general made a disposition for storming the town
near

mean while major Barker maintained a close fire upon the works of the enemy, and those places where they might be lodged or intrenched, the mortars co-operating in the same service.

The British troops directed by the signal of a general discharge from the artillery and mortars, rushed on to the assault, under cover of the thick smoke which blew directly on the town. Lieutenant Russel, at the head of sixty volunteers led the way, being supported by the grenadiers of the nineteenth regiment, to which he belonged. Colonel Monson and major More, headed two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment; the troops of the East India company formed the rear. According to colonel Draper's account the total of the troops with which he entered Manilla, amounted to little more than 2000, a motley composition of seamen, soldiers, seapoys, caffres, lascars, jopasees, French and German deserters; these assailants mounted the breach with incredible courage and rapidity; while the Spaniards on the bastion, retired so suddenly, that it was imagined they depended entirely on their mines. Captain Stephenson was immediately ordered to examine the ground; but this precaution was needless, the English troops penetrated into the town with very little opposition, except at the royal gate, where there was a guard house, defended by one hundred Spaniards and Indians, who refusing to surrender were put to the sword. They were likewise considerably galled with shot from the galleries of lofty houses, by which the great square was surrounded. The governor who was the archbishop and styled himself captain general of the Philippine

pine islands with the principal magistrates retired into the citadel. Colonel Draper having no offer of capitulation or surrender made him, could not prevent his troops for some hours, from making the city feel all the rapaciousness to which a place taken by storm is subjected from the soldiery, those who commanded, excepting the few regulars among them, were of the most unruly kind. At last the citadel being in no condition of defence, the archbishop and the magistrates surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion, and it was immediately occupied by captain Dupont, with one hundred men of the seventy ninth regiment. The Marquis de Villa Medina, a Brigadier general, who commanded the garrison amounting to eight hundred men of the royal regiment, had been reinforced with a body of ten thousand Indians, from the province of Pampanga, a fierce and savage nation, who tho' unacquainted with the use of fire-arms, manage their bows and arrows with great dexterity, and are very formidable from their intrepidity and contempt of death. The marquis with the rest of the Spanish officers were admitted as prisoners of war, on their parole of honour, and all the Indians were dismissed in safety. The success of the victors was the more agreeable, as it was obtained with very little bloodshed, their loss did not exceed one hundred men, though this was embittered by the death of major Moré, who fell transfixt with an arrow near the royal gate.

Lieutenant Friar, a young officer, brave, polite and generous, had been murdered in cold blood at the beginning of the siege, by the savages, without respecting the law of nations, or the

the sacred character of an officer under the protection of a flag of truce.

Manilla was no sooner possessed by the British forces, than the admiral went on shore to consult with general Draper on this great event, and to settle a capitulation. This was found to be a matter of considerable difficulty. When the Archbishop and Magistrates appeared, the two English commanders humanely told them, they were ready to settle a capitulation to save so fine a city from destruction; and desired them to consult and propose such terms of compensation as might satisfy the fleet and army; and exempt them from pillage and its fatal consequences. They brought a draught of terms in the name of the Archbishop, the Royal Audience, and the city and commerce of Manilla, which were so unsuitable to their desperate situation, that they were rejected as unsatisfactory and inadmissible; because they made no mention of a compensation to the victors, for saving the place from utter destruction. The English commanders then took the pen and dictated the conditions, on which the city of Manilla should be preserved from plunder, and the inhabitants maintained in their religious liberties and properties, under the government and protection of his Britannic Majesty. The Spaniards consented to the terms of the ransom, which was stipulated at four millions of dollars, for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants. In consequence of this capitulation the town and port of Cavile, with the islands and forts depending upon Manilla, were surrendered to the British.

British troops, together with several large ships, and a vast quantity of warlike and naval stores. Captain Kempensfeldt of the navy was appointed governor of the place by a commission from the General. One third of the ransom of the Manilla, was allowed to the East India company; and Mr. Draper according to the instructions he had received, delivered up the city of Manilla, the port of Cavile, with all their artillery, ammunition and warlike stores to Dawson Drake, Esq, and other persons appointed to receive them in behalf of the company.

Commodore Tiddeman, a brave and experienced officer, in attempting to enter the river in his barge on the morning that succeeded the reduction of the place was unfortunately drowned with five of his people.

The Spaniards raised afterwards disputes concerning the performance of the capitulation. "The destruction, (said colonel Draper in a letter) that we could have occasioned, would have trebled the loss ye suffer by the payment of the ransom. The rich churches and convents, the King of Spain's own palace, with its superb and costly furniture, the magnificent buildings of every sort, the fortifications, the docks, magazines, founderies, cannon; and in short, the whole might have been entirely ruined, the Spanish empire in Asia subverted, and the fruits of their religious missions lost for ever, together with the lives of many of the inhabitants."

At no period of time had the Spanish monarchy suffered such grievous and mortifying disasters

alters, as those she sustained in the course of this year, from a war into which she was precipitately plunged, against all the dictates of sound policy and caution, merely to gratify the private inclinations of her Sovereign. The Spaniards have reaped nothing but damage and disgrace from all their contests with England, many of which they have prosecuted with an illiberal spirit of gothic cruelty and religious rancour. It will be for their interest to avoid the resentment of Great Britain, as a storm big with ruin to their commerce and their colonies, from whence the importance of their nation, and the chief support of their monarchy are derived.

When the negotiation for the late peace was set on foot, the East India company was applied to by the King's servants, to know how they would have the affairs in the East Indies settled; they drew the tenth article in the preliminaries; it was signed by Mr. Rous, their chairman, sent to his Majesty's minister, and by him transmitted to the Duke of Bedford at Paris, which article was transcribed into the preliminaries, verbatim, as it came from the East India company, and the preliminaries were deferred signing forty-eight hours, (as an honourable member of the house declared;) waiting for that article.

The eleventh article of the definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763; is as follows: "In the East Indies Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown possessed, as well as on the coast of Coromandel and Oriza, as on that of Mala-

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bar, as also in Bengal at the beginning of the year 1749, and his most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions to the acquisition which he had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, since the said beginning of the year 1749. His most Christian Majesty shall restore on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain, in the East Indies, during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapenouilly in the Island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages farther not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal.

And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ali Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salebat Jíng for the lawful Subah of the Decan, and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for their depredations and pillage, committed on the one side or the other during the war.

Declaration of his Britannic Majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of France, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the East Indies,

“ We the underwritten ambassador, &c. to
 “ prevent all subjects of dispute on account of
 “ the limits of the Subah of Bengal, as well as
 “ of the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, de-
 “ clare in the name and by order of his Britannic
 “ Majesty, that the said dominions of the Su-
 “ bah of Bengal, shall be reputed not to ex-
 “ tend

to extend farther than Yanaon, exclusively, and
 " that Yanaon shall be considered as included
 " in the north part of the coast of Coromandel
 " or Orissa. In witness whereof, &c

BEDFORD C. P. S.
 C. L. S. O."

Done at Paris the 10th
 of February 1763.

The affairs of the East India company began now more than ever to engross the attention of the public, and two parties were formed, said to be of very different interests. Lord Clive headed the one, and Mr. Sullivan, a director of great abilities and eminence, the other. Mr. Rous was the chairman, whose interest Lord Clive espoused; he was accused by the other party of a dangerous inattention to the interests of the company, during the late negotiations for peace. At a meeting held the middle of March, a motion was made by Lord Clive's influence, for giving Mr. Rous thanks for his prudent management and attention to the interests of the company, in the late negotiations for a peace with France, and after a long and warm debate, the question was carried in the affirmative. As this court consisted of above six hundred and fifty members, the fullest ever known, it was considered as a prelude to affairs of more importance, but it appeared during the course of the following month, that the interest of the noble candidate for a seat in the direction was inferior to that of his antagonist. So much the high opinion of Lord Clive's services to the company, was diminished,

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by a mere accurate knowledge of his foreign transactions. An unexpected revolution in the company's affairs abroad, soon turned the scale.

The vast success of the English in the East Indies rendered the affairs of that country very interesting to the people of Great Britain. It has been mentioned that Jaffier Ali Khan, who was raised to the Nabob ship of Bengal, had been deposed for his cruelty and mal-administration, by the influence and address of the English president Vansittart, and that his son-in-law, Cossim Ali Khan, had succeeded him as Subah of the Carnatic, and had confirmed and augmented the privileges of the English company in the East Indies. The causes of that extraordinary revolution appeared to have been chiefly owing to the jealousy which the English East India company's servants there entertained that Mbir Jaffier endeavoured to render himself independent of the company, by assassinating or banishing from his court, all persons of any figure or consequence who were known to favour the English. He was suspected of having entered into measures with the Dutch, for calling them into his assistance, against the power and influence of the English in the country, and of his having offered to sacrifice the company's servants and interests to Shah Zadjah, who pretended to be the true heir to the Mogul empire.

In short, it was pretended, that by a series of cruelties and oppressions of various kinds, he had rendered it scandalous for the English to support his tyrannic government any longer, having brought the company's and his own af-

affairs to the very brink of ruin. Such was the charge that was brought against this Nabob, by Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Holwell and other servants of the East India company in Bengal. Other gentlemen in the same service represented matters in a different light, which makes it necessary here, to state more particularly the facts, that preceded the depolition of Mhir Jaffier.

Shah Zaddah in right of his Mogul's dignity, claimed all the original powers, exercised by the Emperors of Indostan, or India, previous to the invasion of that empire by Nadir Shah, and we have already recounted the defeat he suffered by the English East India company's forces under Major Carnac.

It seems to be certain, that the death of Mhir Jaffier's son, who is said to have been killed in his tent by lightning, had made a strong impression upon the father, who was daily apprehensive of conspiracies against himself, as he had no son to succeed him. Jealousy and dread is the governing principle of these eastern courts. A legal trial is seldom or ever granted; to be suspected, is to be guilty, and the most involuntary connections, are admitted as evidences of treason. In consequence of these detestable maxims, Mhir Jaffier had put to death some of the late Surajah Dowla's family and friends; and it is very possible that he might have wished not to have been so entirely dependent, as he was, upon the English, who might have received some counter-balance from a partial admission of the Dutch into his government. It is however certain, that no part of his conduct gave

gave unquestionable grounds for this surmise; because, after the Dutch made such an attempt he sent troops to the assistance of the English, and, had the latter consented, he would have put them all to the sword.

Another article urged against Mhir Jaffier, was his having obstructed the currency of the English Calcutta coin; but from this charge his friends endeavoured to clear him, by alledging, that this stoppage was owing to the bankers, whose practices he could not controul, while Shah Zaddah was master of the southern provinces, and by encouraging the tributary Rajahs to rebel, cut off all the resources on which Mhir Jaffier depended, for satisfying the demands of the English, who became every day more and more clamorous. Such was the state of affairs, when Mr. Holwell resigned the presidentship and government of Fort William to Mr. Vansittart in August 1760, and at the same time remonstrated to his successor the necessity of deposing Mhir Jaffier, for the cause above-mentioned, and many others, which rendered that Nabob the object of public horror and detestation: but the conduct of the two English chiefs, if the unpopularity of Mhir Jaffier was so great is pretty unaccountable, for instead of declaring openly against him, they laid a deep and indeed an artful train for his ruin. Mr. Holwell, it seems had for some time kept up a correspondence with Cossim Ali Khan, Mhir Jaffier's son-in-law, who had made such proposition of advantage for the company, that he was considered as a proper person to succeed Mhir Jaffier, if the latter was deposed.

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Coffim at this time had the confidence of his father-in-law, whom he persuaded to send him, under pretence of concerting the operations of the approaching campaign, to Calcutta, where the measures were concerted for deposing Mhir Jaffier, or rather of depriving him of all power in the government; it was agreed, " That he should maintain his dignity; that affairs should be transacted in his name, and that he should have an allowance to support him; that Coffim should conduct all the public affairs of the Subaship, and be named his successor, and live in perpetual alliance with the English factory. The English seapoys were to be always ready to assist him, and the revenues of the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapor, and Chiltegiang, were to be assigned to the English."

Such were the principal articles of this clandestine treaty, by which a great Prince (for such Mhir Jaffier was) without his own knowledge, was to be striped of his power. We do not find any process or proofs, that could ground the legality of this proceeding; but governor Vansittart in person took upon him the execution and under pretence of a visit he went up to Marshedabad, the place of the Subah's residence, and carried with him three letters, which he delivered himself being attended by colonel Maitland, who had succeeded colonel Clive, in the command of the troops with two hundred Europeans and a party of seapoys, under pretence of re-inforcing the army at Patna. Mr. Vansittart at the

second visit paid him by the Nabob, produced the letters. They first charged him with the non-payment of the English troops, and the great disorders of his government, to the apparent ruin of his affairs. The second letter related to the affairs of Patna; and the third mentioned certain articles to which he was required to submit, together with a requisition of lands, for the payment of the English troops, under the pain of his being forced to comply.

It was no wonder if Mhir Jaffier was alarmed even to a state distraction at these peremptory demands, he lamented the death of his son, which he said, had impaired his understanding, and desired some time to consult with his friends, which the governor was unwilling to grant, but pressed him to name some one of his relations, plainly enough, pointing out Cossim for the management of his affairs. Cossim was mentioned and sent for, but with a visible reluctance on the part of the Nabob, which determined Vansittart to employ force. Cossim being unwilling to come to the conference, occasioned such a delay that Mr. Vansittart to save appearances, was obliged to suffer Mhir Jaffier to return that night to his palace. Cossim and the governor consulted together that night and all the next day, and the English troops, under colonel Caillaud, clandestinely passed the river, and in conjunction with a party raised by Cossim, surrounded the palace; a letter was sent to the Nabob, desiring his immediate compliance, and dispositions were made for seizing his ministers. Mhir Jaffier could do nothing, but complain in the most pathetic terms he

he met with from the English, whom he accused of perjury and breach of faith; but at last recollecting, that he had sworn to be for ever their friend, he dropt all the thoughts of resentment, and offered, rather than continue under the power of his son-in-law, to resign the Subahship, provided he could be assured of a safe retreat in Calcutta, with an allowance for his maintenance. This proposition which was construed into a voluntary resignation, was instantly agreed to, and Cossim proclaimed Nabob, to the apparent satisfaction of the people. Mhir Jassier was hurried into a boat, and sent to Calcutta, with some of his women; and an attendance, no way suited to his dignity. A guard of English was appointed him, by way of convoy to Calcutta.

The secret committee of the English council there had approved of Cossim's being appointed sole minister to Mhir Jassier, and he began his government with a vigour unusual among the eastern princes, which ought to have alarmed our factory. The Shah Zaddah was defeated by the assistance of the English, and the rebellious rajahs were reduced. Cossim prevailed with the English to sacrifice to him Ramnaran, the deputy Nabob of the province, of whom he was jealous, but who was the best friend the English had in Bengal. He then began to give strong indications of his intending to be quite independant of the English. He disciplined his troops in the European manner, he was even furnished with some heavy artillery by Mr. Vansittart, and provided a train from other quarters, which gave his troops the appearance of a disciplined army, he took some French into his
pay;

pay; he engaged some of the English seapoys, and their officers to serve him, and not being fond of the neighbourhood of the factory, he retired from his capital, to a strong fort three hundred miles distant from Calcutta.

Cossim soon convinced the English of their mistaken politics in raising him to the nabobship. He made a distinction between the trade of the company, as founded upon their rights, and the commerce of their servants, who under pretence of a free trade, lent their names to Indian inland smugglers, so much to the prejudice of the revenue, that he complained, if the practice was continued, he should be unable to discharge his engagements with the English. It happened that this last complaint agreed exactly with the instructions which Mr. Vansittart had received from the East India Directors in England, for discouraging all the fraudulent trade of their servants, as being of the utmost prejudice to the company's interest. Cossim supporting his demands with great firmness, Mr. Vansittart payed him a visit to settle all differences, especially that relating to the inland trade, carried on by the company's servants. To this trade it was owing that so many great fortunes were made in the East Indies by the British subjects, who could not otherwise subsist on the scanty allowance of the company. The sweets of this trade had been but lately discovered by the directors, who perhaps were not displeased that in some instances Cossim checked it by force. Mr. Vansittart on his arrival at the nabob's court, concluded a treaty with him, one of the articles of which, subjected the company's servants

to the judges of the Nabobs courts, in inland places. This treaty was no sooner communicated to the Board at Calcutta, than the resident members there, sent for all the chiefs of the out-factories, who had seats at the board, and the treaty was disapproved of; a deputation was voted to be sent to the nabob for better terms, consisting of Mr. Amyat, the second Mr. Hay, and some other gentlemen of the council; but in the mean time they sent a letter to Mr. Vansittart, (which he said he never received) respecting the treaty.

Upon the arrival of Mr. Amyat and his companions at Mongheer, Cossim, who had, by this time fortified Patna, and filled his treasury, insisted upon the valadity of the treaty he had made with Vansittart. He had given orders for stopping the English goods at all his custom-houses, till they paid the duties stipulated by the new treaty, and which were more than double what they were before. He had procured from Mr. Vansittart a letter of the utmost importance to his interest, containing the chief heads of the treaty, and he sent copies of it to all the officers of his revenue, with orders to conform themselves to its terms, which were agreeable to the following letter.

“ Your gracious Perwannah is arrived, and
 “ has greatly honoured me. I am informed of
 “ all the particulars of your high commands.
 “ It shall be delivered to the chiefs of our fac-
 “ tories, that they are to give a power for the
 “ buying and selling of ship-merchandize, and
 “ merchandize that they buy and sell, in every
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“ district for traffic in this country, they are to
 “ do according to the custom of other traders and
 “ merchants, and not to give company’s dulluck.
 “ They paying in upon the coast of the mer-
 “ chandize nine per cent. including wharfs and
 “ other receipts of custom; nor shall they use
 “ any manner of force or violence, extension or
 “ unfair dealings.”

The English factory at Deca, complained to the council at Calcutta, that they must be absolutely undone, if the treaty was carried into execution. The council voted it to be dishonourable, disadvantageous and a breach of their privileges. But all this made no impression on Cossim, who dismissed the deputation from his court with a negative, and ordered some boats with arms belonging to the English to be seized near Patna, for the non-payment of the new duties.

Such was the state of affairs on the 24th of June 1763. When Mr. Amyat and his companions, who were Messrs. Amphlet, Wollaston, and Hutchinson. Lieutenant Jones, Gordon and Coope, Doctor Crooke and Messieurs Hay and Gulston remaining with the Nabob as hostages, took their leave of Cossim Alli, with the usual passports, and set out in boats for Calcutta. In passing by the city of Marshedabad, they were attacked by a party of the nabob’s troops on both sides of the river; and some of the English were killed in their boats. Mr. Amyat, with a few seapoys whom he forbade to fire, landed and endeavoured to make the Indians sensible, that they were furnished with the nabob’s pass-port.

While this tragedy was acting, Mr. Ellis the English chief of Patna, with the consent of captain Carstairs, the military commander there, on the 25th of June attacked and took the city of Patna, of which they were in possession for four hours, having driven out the Moorish or Indian governor and his garrison; but the latter understanding at Futwa where he had fled, that the English and their seapoys were intent on plundering, returned and soon retook the city. From whence in their turn they drove the English who crossed the river and proceeded towards Surajah Dowla's country. While they were on their march the first of July, they were attacked by a large body of the natives, which they routed at first, but being joined by four or five hundred seapoys from Bugemore, they defeated the English, killed about fifty of them with eight or nine officers, among whom was captain Carstairs. Next day Mr. Ellis and all the remainder of his party were made prisoners, and some of them sent to Patna, but Mr. Ellis with the greatest part to Mongheer.

In the mean time, Mr. Vansittart at Calcutta, very candidly acknowledged the necessity of breaking the late treaty, the meaning of which had been so cruelly perverted by Cossim. In consequence of which a resolution was taken to declare war against him and to restore Mhir Jaffier to the Subaship obliging him first to enter into the following advantageous treaty with the company.

1. The treaty which I formerly concluded with the company, upon my accession to the nizamat (government) engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the company, the governor and council as my own, granting orders for the currences of the company's trade; the same treaty I now confirm and ratify.

2. I do grant and confirm to the company, for defraying the expences of their troops, the chauklchs (jurisdictions) of Burdware, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the same purpose.

3. I do notify and confirm to the English, the privilege granted them by their firmaund (a patent signed by the Mogul) and several husbullhookums, (a patent signed by the Vizier) of carrying on their trade, by means of their own dufftaks (orders) free from all duties, taxes and impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which a duty of two and a half per cent, is to be levied on the rewana (stated) market price.

4. I give to the company half the salt petre, which is produced in the country of Purnea, which their gomastahs (factors) shall send to Calcutta, the other half shall be collected by my phousdar (renter) for the use of my officers; and I will suffer no other persons to make purchases of this article in that country.

5. In the Chückleh of Silet for the space of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1170 my phousdar and the company's gomastah shall jointly prepare chunam (lime) of which each shall defray all the expences, and half the chunam so made shall be given to the company, and the other half shall be for my use.

6. I will maintain twelve thousand horse and twelve thousand foot, in the three provinces; if there should be occasion for more, the number shall be increased by the consent of the governor and council, proportionably to the emergency; besides, the forces of the English company shall always attend me when wanted.

7. Where ever I shall fix my court, either at Moorshebadad, or elsewhere, I will advise the governor and council; and whatever number of English forces I may have occasion for in the management of my affairs, I will demand them and they shall be allowed me; and an English gentleman shall reside with me to transact all affairs between me and the company; and a person shall also reside on my part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the governor and council.

8. The late perwannahs, (orders) issued by Cossim Ali Khan, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

Major Adams who then commanded the company's troops, took the field and in a few days was joined by Mhir Jaffier.-- They directed their march towards Morshedabad; and on the 19th of July, came up with a party of the enemy, whom they defeated with an inconsiderable loss, and killed Mahomed Tuckey Cawn, who commanded the party that had slaughtered Mr. Amyat and his companions. At the same time a detached party under captain Long made themselves masters of the fort of Cutwa, with all the enemy's artillery there and in the field; and on the 24th, after a trifling opposition, they entered the important city of Morshedabad, where Mhir Jaffier was proclaimed Subah. The company's troops refreshed themselves here for some days, and resuming their march, they were opposed at the head of Cossim buzan river, by a large body Cossim's best troops, and artillery. An engagement followed, in which it soon appeared, by the firm stand which the natives made, that they had been improved in their discipline; but after a long dispute, they were totally defeated. The loss of the English consisted of five officers, forty Europeans, and above three hundred sepoy's and black horse killed and wounded. The enemy's loss was very considerable; twenty-three pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the English, with one hundred and fifty boats, among which were those they had taken at Patna, laden with military and other stores; the major then advanced to Rajamant, near which he forced a strong entrenchment of the enemy, and thereby deprived them of all their supplies of provisions.

visions from Bengal, which he entirely secured to the company, who thought the fate of the war would be entirely decided by this campaign.

In all these operations, major Carnac, who had been displaced from his command, for his opposition to Mr. Vansittart, distinguished himself with great gallantry and good conduct, which major Adams so warmly and generously represented to the company, that they restored him to his command of their forces at Bengal. Major Adams on the 11th of October, completed the campaign by the reduction of Mongheer, without the loss of a man. It was remarkable that Cossim's artillery was mounted in the English manner and served by two hundred Europeans, who had been taken at Patna (but none of them English, for they had refused to enter into his service), and were kept prisoners at Mongheer.

His sea-poys were armed and cloathed in the English manner, and divided into brigades, their skill in chusing their ground was greater than ever had been before known in the East Indies; and it was believed by major Adams, that the Armenians and some Europeans were principally instrumental in reducing his troops to discipline.

From what has been premised, the reader must have a contemptible idea of Indian fortifications, as their strongest towns and entrenchments, though guarded by numerous armies, were so easily reduced by a handful of men, commanded by major Adams. Upon the reduction of Mongheer, he sent a detachment under captain Wedderburn, towards Patna, to which Cossim had retired, with

orders to block up that place and to inform the English prisoners there of his approach. He effectually executed the first part of his commission, but was prevented from discharging the second by the barbarity of Cossim. This tyrant employed one Somers, a German ruffian, who had entered into his service to massacre the English prisoners; the latter so little expected such a fate, that upon Somers's arrival with some sea-poys he commanded, they prepared to receive him as a companion. The barbarian on pretence of inviting them to supper, borrowed all their knives and forks, and sending for Messrs. Ellis and Lushington, he and his assassins immediately dispatched them, but not before the latter had killed one and wounded two of the murderers. Messrs. Chambers, Aphlett, and Gulston, who were next sent for, underwent the same fate; but one Mr. Smith, escaping with a wound, back to the room, alarmed the rest of the gentlemen, who defended themselves for some time bravely with their plates and bottles; but the assassins discharging their pieces, shot them all dead. The numbers massacred in that house were forty nine gentlemen; of whom twenty five were in irons; fifty soldiers, who were in irons likewise, were massacred at the same time, as were nine other gentlemen, and the remainder of the English prisoners, amounting in the whole to two hundred in different parts of the country. This massacre was so barbarous, that it was reluctantly performed by the sea-poys, who desired Somers to give the prisoners arms, and that they would fight them, alledging that it was unfair to kill them in so cowardly a manner; but the ruffian struck several

veral of them down with bamboos, and was so cruel as to put to death a child of Mr Ellis, one Fullerton a physician, was the only one person who escaped from Patna, having, a few days before received a pardon from Cossim

That tyrant extended his cruelty to all the natives who were thought to be in the English interest, he put to death the famous banker, Tagulpat, and his brother, with Raminanan, whom he had kept in captivity, with about twenty eight others and left their bodies to be devoured by birds and beasts, the most exquisite punishment that a superstitious East Indian can devise to a departed spirit Major Adams found large magazines of ammunition and grain in Mongheer, and after making the necessary dispositions, he proceeded against Patna, which was garrisoned by ten thousand men, led by Cossim, who retired to the westward He ordered however a party of horse to harass the English in their march but without any effect, for major Adams arrived within two miles of Patna where he took up a strong post, and prepared to form a regular siege His manoeuvres were interrupted by a strong detachment of the enemy's seapoys, who with some difficulty, were beaten off, but not before they had blown up a principal magazine, the property of the English, three boats belonging to the company, laden with ammunition, were lost at the same time by a violent gust of wind The siege however went on, though with great difficulty, the enemy made an obstinate defence, by which many of the English officers were wounded, but the city was at last carried, and Cossim retired precipitately to Sasserum, from whence

whence he proceeded with all his treasure, and valuable effects to the confines of Sujahal Dowlah's country, where all he could obtain was an asylum for himself and his family.

So many vicissitudes of the English affairs in the East Indies, occasioned an incredible ferment in London, among all who had any concern with that company; the public was surprized that such important events had passed without being known to any but the directors, and a party was formed with Lord Clive at its head, for putting the direction into other hands at the approaching election of directors. On the 12th of March, a very numerous general court of the East India proprietors was held, and opened by Sir Francis Golling, who declared "the business of their meeting to be, to enquire into the present condition of the company's affairs abroad; to endeavour to discover the causes of the misfortunes that had happened at Bengal; to learn what steps had been taken by the directors to remedy these misfortunes; and their reasons for dismissing many of their old servants, and appointing a gentleman, seventh in the council at Bombay, (meaning Mr. Vansittart) to be governor at Bengal, in preference to another gentleman who should regularly have succeeded to that trust."

The business of the day was then divided into three heads; under the first was discussed the conduct of Mr. Vansittart, in advancing Cossim Ali Cawn to the nabobship; and deposing Mhir Jaffier, in direct opposition, as was alledged to his council, whom he ought to have consulted. At the original principles upon which this revolution

tion was brought about, had been entirely conformable to the sentiments of the directors themselves, this matter bore a strenuous debate, which threw the assembly into some confusion, if not tumult, many letters and papers were read to prove the expediency and necessity of the measure, and many to shew its pernicious tendency; but their contents were so directly contrary to one another, that the debates on this head were upon the whole, trifling and ineffectual. Under the second head was discussed the management of the company's servants at Calcutta. It was alledged and many papers produced to confirm it, that the majority of the council had demanded exorbitant sums from the new nabob, who had refused to comply with the payment, while the governor protested against them. It was on the other hand urged, that without breaking the arrangements, which had been made between Cossim and Mr. Vansittart, the company's affairs must have been absolutely ruined in India. To this it was replied that they could have no other effect than the reducing the profits of the company's servants, who wanted to be exempted from all duties, and even to trade duty free. Nay, it was urged, that they often covered under their names the illicit trade of the natives. The undue preference that had been given to many of the company's principal servants, formed the third and last head of this debate, which grew more warm than ever; the friends of those postponed or preferred, interesting themselves with uncommon ardour. But we are here to take a view of the state of Lord Clive's affairs with regard to the company, and which indeed had given rise to the original decision.

division among the directors and proprietors. In consequence of the great services rendered by Lord Clive, to Mhir Jaffer, when in the company's service in India, the nabob had recompensed his friend and confederate with the most lavish prodigality. He had assigned to colonel Clive, a jaghere or settlement, upon the revenues of that country, issuing from the reserved rent of the lands, which had been ceded to the company by the prince; and this Jaghire which amounted to near 30,000 l. a year, was consequently to be paid by the factory; as his lordship had so great a concern in the welfare of the company, he thought he had a reasonable claim to the greatest part of its management. He differed with the directors in wording the article relating to the East Indies in the preliminaries for peace, and it was accordingly altered; many occurrences happened which indicated that those who were in the secret of the direction, were averse to his Lordship's having a seat at their board, and the opposition to him was thought to arise principally from Mr. Sullivan, the deputy chairman, who was said to understand the affairs of the direction better than any of his colleagues. Lord Clive's interest being supported by his wealth, his creatures and his dependents, these partisans pressed his admission into the directorship; and matters went so high, that orders were sent to the company's servants to stop the payment of the jaghire, for the recovery of which his lordship brought a suit in the chancery of England.

Various were the reasons alledged by the directors for this detention, which Lord Clive endeavoured to remove.

oured to make the public resent as injurious; they objected to the disposal which his lordship had made of the treasures of the nabob whom he had deposed; and that he had withheld from the relations of the sufferers in the black hole at Calcutta, the sums stipulated for their indemnification. He was likewise accused of remitting money home by a Dutch ship; contrary to the regulations of the company, and of having supplied a Portuguese ship with goods and money, concluding that he had no right to the jaghire, which was payed at the company's expence. In answer to these imputations, his lordship addressed a letter to the proprietors more sophistical than convincing, he proved indeed that some of the relations of the sufferers at Calcutta, as appeared by their own letters, had received some indemnification, but it appeared notwithstanding the plausibility of his arguments that the stipulations in their favour at least of the majority of them had not been fulfilled with the most scrupulous exactness; that the nabob's treasures had been applied, according to the secret agreement with Mhir Jaffer, to whom in fact, Mr. Clive, had declared they belonged, after his usurpation; he denied having sent any money by Dutch ships but in bills, which he said with a specious disinterestedness, were in danger of never being paid, as he was then opposing the designs of the Dutch in Bengal; and that at the time same they sent those bills, the company's servants thought it inconsistent with their interest to grant bills. The charge with regard to the Portuguese ship he called a groundless falsity; and his lordship declared that he had at least as good a right to his jaghire,

as the company had to the vast estates which they possessed in the East Indies.

Lord Clive's friends and adherents amongst the proprietors boldly asserted that nothing but the credit, experience and abilities of Lord Clive in person could retrieve the disorder of the company's affairs in the East Indies. Other meetings were accordingly held to bring about this end so much desired by Lord Clive, and a motion was made by his friends, that he should be requested to take upon him the presidency of Bengal, and the command of the military forces there. His Lordship, in his answer, shewed himself ready to comply with the motion, provided matters could be settled, so that he could proceed with vigour, supported by a friendly and united direction. Upon this a letter was sent in form to his Lordship, but in the mean time such altercations passed between him and the deputy chairman, that his lordship declared he was resolved to decline the presidency and all military command, if that gentleman continued to take the lead in the company's affairs at London. The directors on the opposition to his Lordship; upon this published the favourable accounts of their affairs in the East Indies which they had received from major Adams, and which they hoped would convince the public, that there was no necessity for courting Lord Clive, to accept of the presidency, which he continued to decline, unless Mr. Sullivan was displaced from his power.

The publication of the accounts from major Adams and governor Vansittart, damped the zeal of many who had been most forward in pressing Lord Clive to name his own terms, and the house

list,

left, as it was called, prevailed against that of the proprietors, which had been formed by his Lordship's friends.

Mr. Sullivan however, was so near being thrown out of the direction, which he carried only by one vote upon the scrutiny of the ballot, that it was plain, business could not be done, if he continued to lead the board of directors; and a ballot being taken for a chairman, Mr. Rous, Lord Clive's friend, was elected, and Mr. Boulton, deputy chairman; on this event, fresh applications were made to Lord Clive, his Lordship, in a letter addressed to the directors, took notice, that a law-suit was depending between him and the company, concerning his jaghire, which rendered it highly improper for him to go abroad before it was determined; "and therefore said his Lordship, allow me to suggest to you the expediency of referring the matter to a general court of the proprietors; with the proposal I now make, viz. That I shall enjoy my jaghire for ten years, provided the company shall remain so long in possession of those lands, of which the jaghire is the quit rent, and provided I shall live so long; at the end of ten years or at my death, if it should happen first, my right and title to the jaghire shall cease; and on my arrival in India, I shall use my utmost endeavours with the nabob, to secure the reversion of it to the company. "Should my death happen early in this service, I submit to the consideration of the directors and proprietors (but do not insist upon it) whether it cannot be continued to my heirs for five years." In consequence of this letter a general court of the East India company was held

to deliberate on its contents; and a resolution passed for taking the case of the proprietors by a ballot for empowering the court of directors "To agree with Lord Clive for the payment of his jaghire during ten years, if his Lordship should long live, and the company shall be in actual possession of the lands, out of which it issues, and the revenues thereof during that period of time." This question created great debates. The court of directors thought themselves obliged to justify their proceedings upon the jaghire, by producing the opinions which they had taken from the learned of the law. Lord Clive's friends did the same on their side; and they were found on the whole to be confused, contradictory, and irreconcilable to each other. The majority of the meeting, however, seemed inclinable to close with his Lordship's proposal, and a day was fixed for the ballot. Before the company broke up, a motion was made, on the part of his Lordship's friends, in the view of facilitating the success of the ballot, "That for the future, none of the company's servants in the East Indies should, upon pain of expulsion receive from any of the nabobs; or from any others, any kind of gratuity or reward without the concurrence or consent of the council or of the court of directors of the East India company." This resolution met with applause, and passed; the event has proved how it has been eluded with impunity.

On the day after the ballot was taken, it appeared that the question was carried for allowing Lord Clive his jaghire by a majority of 583; against 396 Other motions of less importance were then made, particularly upon a resolution which had been

taken by the court of directors to recommend Major Adams to the secretary at war, for his majesty to confer on him some higher post, that he might be continued at Bengal so long as the exigencies of affairs should require. A motion being made upon this resolution, it was strongly opposed as tending to imply a check upon Lord Clive, who was then making preparations for his departure. The motion however, was carried, as were other motions, for returning the thanks of the court to major Carnac, and the other officers and troops who had so gallantly served under major Adams. After this, many debates ensued, which discovered that many of the proprietors had not a very high opinion of his lordship's principles, and abilities. Lord Clive had formed a military establishment for the East Indies, by reducing the company's troops into regiments, and keeping up two battalions in England, with various other regulations; after a warm discussion on which particulars, the debate was ended by a motion being carried "That the company's affairs in Bengal requiring immediate attendance, and the season being very far advanced, Lord Clive be desired to embark forthwith for that government; and that all the officers now appointed be ordered to proceed thither without delay."

During these debates the company received the alarming news of a most dreadful storm that had happened to their shipping in the East Indies. * His majesty was pleased to confer the order of

* In Madras Road, October 21.

the Bath upon Lord Clive, who soon after departed for the East Indies.

In order to know the justice of the East India company's claims, and the causes of the subsequent revolutions in Indostan, it is proper to take retrospect into the first establishment of the company, and to observe how they first craved the protection of the Mogul and of the Subahs, enroached afterwards upon their territories; maintained their usurpations by force and artifice; and at last assumed to themselves the right of making and deposing nabobs in the Peninsula of Indus.

The first idea of the East India company was formed in Queen Elizabeth's time, but it has since admitted of vast alterations. Its shares or subscriptions, were originally only 50 l. sterling, and its capital only 36,989 l. but the directors having a considerable dividend to make in 1676, it was agreed to join the profits to the capital, by which the shares were doubled, and consequently, each became of 100 l. value, and the capital 739,782 l. 10s. to which capital of 963,639 l. if the profits of the company to the year 1685 be added, the whole stock will be found to be 1,703,402 l. Though the establishment of this company was vindicated in the clearest manner by Sir Joshua Child, and other able advocates, yet the partiality of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. had for his favourite African trade, the losses it sustained in the wars with the Dutch, and the revolutions which had happened in the affairs of Indostan, damped the ardour of the public to support it; so that at the time of the Revolution, when the war broke out with France, it was in a very indifferent situation.

This

This was in a great measure owing to its having no parliamentary sanction, whereby its stock often sold for one half less than it was really worth ; and it was resolved that a new company should be erected, under the authority of parliament.

The opposition given to all the public spirited measures of King William by faction, rendered this proposal a matter of vast difficulty ; but at last, after many parliamentary enquiries, the new subscription prevailed ; and the subscribers, upon advancing two millions to the public at eight per cent. obtained an act of parliament in their favour. The old company, however, retained a vast interest both in the parliament and nation ; and the act being found in some respects defective, so violent a struggle between the two companies arose, that in the year 1702 ; they were united by an indenture tripartite ; in the year 1708, the yearly fund of eight per cent. for two millions, was reduced to five per cent. by a loan of 1,200,000 l. to the public, without any additional interest ; for which consideration the company obtained a prolongation of its exclusive privileges ; and a new charter was granted to them under the title of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies. Its exclusive right of trade was prolonged from time to time. And a farther sum was lent by the company in 1730, by which though the company's privileges were extended for thirty three years, yet the interest of their capital, which then amounted to 3,200,000 l. was reduced to three per cent. and called the India three per cent. annuities.

Those annuities are different from the trading stock of the company, the proprietors of which,

instead of receiving a regular annuity, have according to their different shares, a dividend of the profits, arising from the company's trade ; and that dividend arises or falls according to the circumstances of the company either real, or as it is too often the case pretended. Before the late act of Parliament, a proprietor of stock to the amount of 500 l. whether man or woman, native or foreigner, had a right to be manager and to give a vote in the general council. Now one thousand pounds is the qualification for proprietors and two for directors. The directors are twenty four in number, including the chairman and deputy chairman, who may be re-elected for four years successively. The chairman has a salary of 200 l. a year and each of the directors 150 l. we shall mention in the course of this work the ineffectual motions for raising their salary. The meetings, or court of directors, are to be held at least once a week ; but are commonly oftener, being summoned as occasion requires. Out of the body of directors are chosen several committees, who have the peculiar inspection of certain branches of the company's business ; as the committee of correspondence, a committee of buying, a committee of treasury, a house committee, a committee of warehouses, a committee of shipping, a committee of accounts, a committee of law-suits, and a committee to prevent the growth of private trade ; who have under them a secretary, a cashier, clerks and warehouse keepers of teas, Bengal goods, coast and farat, &c.

The present governors of the principal company's settlements are, Bengal, Warner Hastings ; Bombay, William Hornby ; Fort St. George, A. Wynch ;

Wynch; Fort Marlborough, Richard Wyatt; St. Helena, John Skottowe, Esqrs.

The amazing territorial acquisitions of this company, which are attended with a proportional increase of trade, joined to the dissensions among its managers at home and abroad, engaged of late the attention of the legislature so much, that a restriction was laid for their dividends, for a certain time, not to exceed 12 and half per cent. We have already mentioned the vast fortunes acquired by their governors and officers abroad, and the state in which they live, like sovereign princes.

The trade of England to the East Indies, constitutes one of the most stupendous political, as well as commercial machines, that is to be met with in history: the trade itself is exclusive, and lodged in the company, which has a temporary monopoly of it, in consideration of money advanced to the government, besides their settlements on the coast of India, which they enjoy under proper restrictions, by act of parliament, they have through the various internal revolutions which have happened in the empire of Indistan, acquired such territorial possessions, as renders them the most formidable commercial republic (for so it may be called in its present situation) that has been known in the world since the demolition of Carthage, though their revenues are known but imperfectly, except to the directors of the company. It has been publicly affirmed, that it amounts annually to above three millions and a half sterling: the expences of the company in fleets, forts and armies, for maintaining those acquisitions, are certainly very great; but, after these are defrayed, the company not only

clears a vast sum, but was able to pay till lately to the government four hundred thousand pounds yearly; for a certain time, partly by way of indemnification, for the expence of the public in protecting the company, and partly as a tacit tribute for those possessions which are territorial and not commercial. This republic therefore cannot be said to be independent, and it is hard to say what form it may take, when the term of the bargain with the government is expired. This company exports to the East Indies, all kinds of woollen-manufacture, all sorts of hard ware, lead, bullion, and quick-silver; their imports consist of gold, diamonds, raw silks, drugs, tea, pepper, arrack, porcelain ware, salt-petre for home consumption; and of wrought silks, muslins, calicoes, cottons, and all the woven manufactory of India for exportation to foreign countries.

The war between two European nations on the coast of India, has not till very lately, had any connection with the governing people of the country. It has been entirely owing to the war, that an European has been allowed to have any kind of familiar commerce with them, or that the servants of the company have been admitted to an acquaintance with their courts, the splendor of which has been greatly lessened by foreign and intestine commotions. The war alone has taught them the geography of the country a hundred miles round their settlements; and within these few years, those who had been at Madara, which is about that distance, were as eagerly listened to when they returned to Madras, and their accounts were as new

to all that heard them, as if they had come from Japan

We must not suppose a man the better acquainted with facts, for having been in India, unless he has been in that very part which was the scene of action, for the several settlements being some as remote from others as England is from the most southern or northern parts of Europe, the people on one coast, have sometimes no more knowledge of what is doing on the other, than we have at home

Without some previous explanations, one can hardly conceive, by what means a handful of English have appeared so respectable in the field, when opposed to Asiatics, and how they became lately the arbiters of the Mogul Empire

It is generally supposed that the Peninsula within the Ganges is under the immediate government of the Mogul himself, and that the royal mandates from Delli are, according to the received notion of so arbitrary a dominion, obeyed in the most remote parts of the coast. This is so far from the truth, that a great part of that vast peninsula never acknowledged subjection to the throne of Delli, till the reign of Aurengzebe, and the revenues from those Indian kings and Moorish governors, who were conquered or employed by him, have, since his death been intercepted by the vice-roys, whom his weaker successors have appointed for the government of the peninsula, so that at this time the tribute from the several potentates cannot reach the court of Delli, nor the vigour of the government extended from the capital to those remote countries, and ever since the province of Indostan

is devasted by Nadir Shaw, the weakness of the Mogul, and the independency of the vice-roys, have in a manner confined the influence of the eldest monarch of the East to what is properly called Indostan, so that the sovereign possesses a third only, and that the least valuable part of his own vast empire. Bengal the smallest, but most fertile province, is governed by a vice roy, who has been for some years past the creature of the English company, the other division called the Deckan, extending from Balasore to Cape Comorin, is also delegated by the Mogul to another vice roy of exceeding great power, having within his jurisdiction even large territories to which he has the undisputed right of nominating as many nabobs or governors. In all parts of India there are still large districts, which have preserved, with the Gentoo religion, the old form of government under Indian kings called Rajas. Such are Maissore, and Tanour. There are also among the woods and mountainous parts of the country several petty princes, or heads of clans, distinguished by the names of Polygars. These are all tributary to the nabobs, as those are to the vice roy of Deckan; the Carnatic, a part of it comprehends the principal settlements of the Europeans, Madrafs, Pondicherry, and also Arcot on the Coromandel coast. Thus the vice-roys of Bengal and Deckan have the principal sway over the peninsula of Indus.

The chain of mountains which run from north to south, are the cause of a phænomenon in natural history. The countries separated by these mountains, though under the same latitude, have their seasons and climate entirely different from each other;

other, and while it is winter on one side of the hills, it is summer on the other. On the coast of Malabar, a south west wind begins to blow from the sea at the end of June, with continued rain, and rages against the coast for four months, during which time the weather is calm and serene on the coast of Coromandel, and towards the end of October the rainy season, which they term the change of the monsoon, begins on the coast of Coromandel at which time the tempestuous winds bearing continually against a coast in which there are no good ports, make it so dangerous for the shipping to remain there, for the three ensuing months, that it is scarce ever attempted. This is the cause of the periodical return of our ships to Bombay where there is a secure harbour and convenient docks.

As the Europeans have of late directed the counsels of the Indian princes, and awed them into a servile non-resistance to their arbitrary measures by the superiority of a few disciplined battalions against their numerous and timid legions, it will be requisite to give some account of their manners, habits and prejudices, as may have a nearer or more remote influence on their military characters.

The Asiatics bring immense multitudes into the field, without appointing any commissaries for subsisting their armies, which mostly consist of horsemen, with two servants each, one to take care of his horse, the other to procure him forage. All these are accompanied by their wives and children, and a moveable town of shops follows the camp, where every thing is sold as in their cities. Some

hundred

hundred of elephants for state only, and a train of women, with a numberless retinue, always attend the prince and the great officers, for whenever the sovereign moves, he displays in the camp more pomp and magnificence than in his residence, and war is only the secondary object of his thoughts and precaution, it is his pleasure that his subjects should abandon the capital in order to augment his numbers.

The Mogul's camp is no less than twenty English miles in compass, the length some ways about seven miles, including the skirts, in the middle where there are regular streets, the shops are disposed in such order, that every man knows where to go directly for what he wants, men of quality pitch their tents on a ground and at a distance marked by a Sardan, an officer of horse, tradesmen and victuallers have a place set apart without the precincts of the Mogul's camp. No man must approach the royal quarter nearer than a musket shot every way, which is so strictly observed, that none are admitted but by name.

In imitation of their sovereign, and from the same motives of vanity and ostentation, the lesser princes and vice roys affect the same splendor and magnificence in their camps and the number of their followers. Those who saw Nazirzing's camp in 1750, assure us, that it exceeded twenty miles in circumference, there were on the spot 200,000 fighting men, and the followers of the camp amounted to 500,000 souls. Nazirzing's army being at that time in the heart of his own dominions and undisturbed by marauders, was regularly supplied from all the neighbouring towns, which by receiving ready

ready money for their provisions, were enabled to pay the arrears of their revenues, so that the vice-roy maintained this amazing multitude by the contributions which he raised in his march, without diminishing the treasure he always carried with him, and which filled twenty tents with gold and silver coin.

The strictest orders are given for all provisions to be brought into the camp from the whole country around, by these means the towns and villages are exhausted, but the camp, for the most part, is plentifully supplied.

The forage is procured by men constantly employed in cutting turf, and washing the roots of it, and this is a more hearty food for a horse than grass. A shower of rain produces another crop in a few days time; and in case of continued dry weather, they move their camp to fresh ground. They also feed their horses in the rice fields, and where meat is plenty they boil the offals to rags, and mixing it with butter and some sorts of grain, make balls of it, which they thrust down the horse's throat, in a scarcity of provisions, they give them opium, which has the same effect both on the horses and men, for at once it damps their appetites, and enables them to endure fatigue. The horses of the country, are naturally so exceedingly vicious, that they are not to be broke in the manage, and cannot be brought to act with the same regularity in the field, as a squadron of European cavalry. The Persian horses being more gentle and docile, are greatly esteemed and often valued at a thousand guineas, those of India sell for fifty or one hundred pounds.

As the greatest part of the Indians abstain from all kinds of animal food, rice being their common and almost only sustenance, there is generally a sufficient supply of beef for the Mahometan soldiery and the small proportion of Europeans. Indeed their numerous armies, seldom keep the field any time, without great loss by famine, which is scarcely felt, among such numbers, and very little regarded from any principles of humanity. The fear of death so frequent in their armies, does not prevent their princes from assembling numerous forces, with the same oversight, trusting to chance and regardless of the soldier's subsistence and preservation. They generally make considerable losses and sustain a great damage in men, beasts, and all the implements of war in their marches through difficult roads and defiles, and in passing over great rivers, which are not fordable and swell like torrents in the rainy season. As vessels built of timber, cannot be brought up against the stream, they make large boats of a kind of basket work, which they cover with skins. They are very light, will carry above fifty horse, and are capable of transporting the heaviest artillery.

Whilst the same wretched government and abhorrence of innovation subsists, the Asiatics can never be made soldiers. Besides their dastardly disposition, and their dread of fire arms, the inexperience of their leaders, who never understood the advantages of discipline, and totally neglect their infantry, is the chief cause that a handful of Europeans is an over-match for their disorderly multitudes. Their cavalry is well paid and kept on a more respectable footing; they are not unwilling

ling to engage with sabres in a skirmish; but they have an invincible aversion to bring their horses within the reach of our guns; and perhaps it is not so much through fear and pusillanimity, that they decline an engagement, as for the preservation of their horses, which are generally the only fortune they have. As an instance of the affection they contract for an animal so servicable, Morarow, the general of the Marattas having had his favourite horse shot, mourned for him three days, without his turban.

The natives who have been disciplined by Europeans, and formed into a regular infantry, under officers of their own, generally known by the name of sea poys, have familiarized themselves to fire arms, and behave well behind walls; and when we give them serjeants to lead them on, they make no contemptible figure in the field.

Nothing is so detrimental to their military affairs; as the false notion, generally entertained amongst them, by their commanders example, in relation to artillery; tho' they repose a vain confidence in their own, they are soon terrified with that of the enemy; and their most fatal mistake, is in placing their chief dependence on the largest pieces, which they neither know how to manage nor move; they give them pompous and sounding names, as the Italians do to their guns, and have some pieces which carry a ball of seventy pounds. When the Europeans march round them with their light field pieces, and oblige them to move those enormous weights, their bullocks which are very untractable, cannot be governed if a shot comes amongst them; and at the same time are so ill harnessed, that it requires

requires some considerable time to free the rest from any one that shall happen to be unruly or slain

In war with the Asiatics alone, their being so very tenacious of their old manners, gives to the Europeans a great advantage over them, not only the Prince himself, but every Raja, who has the command of all the forces he can bring into the field, always appears among them mounted on an elephant, and is at once the general and ensign, or standard bearer of that corps, who keep their eyes constantly fixed upon him, and if they lose sight of him for a moment, conclude that all is lost. Thus we find, Aurengzeb gained two battles by the treachery of those, who persuaded his two victorious brothers to get down from their elephants, mount their horses, and pursue the vanquished; their troops missing them, immediately dispersed. The same practice, continued to this day, affords our engineers a fair opportunity of deciding the fate of a whole detachment, by one well directed discharge of a six pounder, and those enormous beasts, now seem to be brought into the field for no other end but to be a mark for our artillery. They begin to be sensible of the danger of this practice, and it is surprizing they did not make the same observation even before the use of the artillery, their general thus distinguished, was in like manner exposed to the arrows of a whole army, and yet we always find them in the same perilous situation. It is recorded in ancient history, that Porus was pierced with nine arrows, and sunk from his elephant with innumerable wounds. It is not a mere regard for ancient manners that will induce

induce them to continue the same method, they look upon it as a sure expediency of keeping their troops together by this signal. When Aurengzeib perceived his army giving way on every side, he ordered chains to be fastened about the legs of his elephant, to convince them that he would not give the example of flight; and that those to whom his life was precious, could preserve it by no other means but fairly maintaining their ground. The person of the prince was always more exposed among remote and barbarous nations unskilled in the military science.

We find in the history of Mexico, Montezuma represented as performing no part of a general; but only sitting in an exalted stage on men's shoulders, and serving as a conspicuous standard to his troops,

As the Indian princes are apprehensive of the danger of being thus exposed, they sometimes avail themselves of the only device that can afford them any security. They order several elephants caparison'd alike, with riders in the same rich and splendid habits to appear in different parts of the field on the same day.

Another great obstacle to their success in war is their superstition, and particularly their strict observance of lucky and inauspicious days, which often prevents them from taking the most obvious advantages of an enemy.

The Indians are particularly fond of all kinds of beasts of prey, they keep great numbers of them, and often visit them before they give battle; if they find them heavy and dull, they think it a bad omen, and a sufficient reason to postpone the action;

ion; on the other hand the accidental fury of the animal is regarded as a presage of success.

The greatest obstacle of all, to their becoming a military people, is that those, who have once had such success in the field, as to obtain the name of fortunate, are ever afterwards considered as invincible; and being unmolested for a time disband their forces, to save the needless expence of a standing army. For this reason there are few veterans, and their armies consist of raw and unexperienced men, hastily brought together from different parts. Numbers are but an impediment, and bravery ineffectual, among an undisciplined multitude.

Notwithstanding they have so severely suffered in being surprized in the night by the Europeans; they can never be brought to establish either order or vigilance in their camp; and when they have acted with us as allies, the most earnest remonstrances could never prevail with them to be sufficiently upon their guard, when in the neighbourhood of the French, or to quit their ground in the morning to co-operate with us in surprizing the enemy.

At the close of the evening, every man eats an inconceivable quantity of rice, and many take after this repast some kind of soporific drugs; so that about midnight the whole army is in a dead sleep. The consequence of these habits is obvious, yet it would appear a strange proposition to an eastern monarch, to endeavour to persuade him, that the security of his throne depended upon the regulation of the meals of a common soldier, much less would he be prevailed on to restrain him in the use of that opium, which is to warm his blood

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for action and arm his soul with heroism, fills the mind of an European soldier at once with compassion and contempt to see a heap of the poor creatures solely animated by a momentary intoxication, crowded into a breach, and both in their gait and impotent fury, resembling a mob of frantic women.

There is certainly an appearance of effeminacy in the eastern dress, which has at all times greatly contributed to lessen their military character with the European nations, who from their habits and prejudices, will naturally receive a strange impression, upon seeing a body of horse in silk or cotton robes.

A nation under such circumstances, can never become a military people, yet there is no character they are so fond of as that of a warrior, and as they have no other notion of government, they have been, from time immemorial, continually at war with one another. They talk in a very high strain of their passion for military glory, and as the word *sehr*, in their language signifies a soldier, they generally affect the honour of that title.

Upon this occasion, it would be great injustice to our commanders on the coast of Coromandel not to observe that they have always had, since the battle of Plassey, to contend with a superior body of Europeans, conducted by leaders of experience and rank in the French army.

For the illustration of the events of war, the manners of the Mahometan usurpers in India, who are the governing people of the Mogul Empire, are chiefly to be examined.

The Mahometan princes have very little intercourse with other nations, and admit no foreigners to their courts, unless such as by any peculiar talent may gratify some present fancy.

The people of Indostan have no written laws, the king's judgment binds; who sits and gives sentence once a week with much patience, both in civil and criminal cases; sometimes he sees executions done by his elephants, with an unmanly delight in blood.

His governors of provinces rule by his firmers, which are letters or commissions, authorising them to take life and goods at pleasure. Before the revolutions of the Mogul Empire in this century, the revenues of the sovereign exceeded either Turk or Persian, or any eastern prince; all the lands of his dominions are his. He maintains all his subjects that are not mechanics, by revenues bestowed on them reckoned by horses; and the allowance of many is greater than the estates of German princes. All men rise to titles and estates as they advance in favour, which is got by frequent presents, rich and rare. The Mogul is heir to all that die; to the sons of those who die worth two or three millions, he gives some small lordship to begin the world anew. The king sees regularly at noon his elephants fight; from four to five he entertains all comers, to be seen and worshipped by them; from nine till midnight he revels familiarly among his favourites. The king has no council, but every officer gives his opinion apart. He is stately by habit and custom. The buildings of the chief cities are contemptible, of mud, one story high. The royal palaces are built of stone; handsome and uniform; the

the grantees live in tents, or houses worse than our cottages.

The king on his birth day is weighed against some jewels, gold, silver, rich stuffs, silks, butter, rice, fruit, &c. of every sort a little, which is given to the priest or bramins.

The king's elephants have their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver, with many silk banners and flags carried about them.

The first European settlers in India were obliged for the interest of their commerce, in a servile manner to carry their presents and pay their homage to those petty chiefs, whom they do not at present deign to admit to their Durbar, except when some particular interest requires it. This change has happened within these thirty years. It is not long since the nabob of Arcot, inconsiderable as he is in regard to the Suba of Deccan, being but a farmer of his revenue, behaved to the Europeans as a sovereign to his subjects. His letters to the governors and presidents of factories ran in a strain of authority opprobrious to civilized nations. The Europeans never appeared before him, but as suppliants, carrying presents which he continually exacted from them. If any even of his inferior officers came towards Madras or Fort St David's formal deputations were sent out to meet them with the greatest marks of respect. The utmost care was taken of giving offence to those petty tyrants whose resentment might have prejudiced our commerce.

For a Suba of the Deccan to condescend to write to the commander in chief of the company's forces, was a thing unheard of, and not to be ex-

pected. When Nizamul Mulk, came into the province of Arcot, to retake Trinchinopoly from the Marattas, the European nations strove who should give him the strongest mark of their submission, and omitted no means of gaining his favour; yet he deigned not to write to any of the governors who represented the Europeans, and hardly honoured with a look the rich presents, laid with all imaginable respect at his feet, as a token of their homage and dependence. The bounds of the company's establishments could not be passed without submission and presents, to obtain leave from the farmers of the revenue. Very few Europeans till very lately have been acquainted with the interior parts of the country; some of the company's servants, from their intimate and familiar intercourse with the governing people in Bengal, have had all the advantages of information; when they were at Patna, they had constant advices from Delli.

It is proper to present the reader, with a view of the outlines of the different tribes and nations of Indostan.

The Mahomedans, who are called Moors of Indostan, are computed to be about ten million; and the Indians of the Mogul empire and the two Peninsulas, about an hundred million. Above half the empire is subject to Rajahs, or Kings, who derive their descent from the old princes of India, and exercise all rights of sovereignty, only paying tribute to the Great Mogul, and observing the treaties by which their ancestors recognized his superiority. In other respects, the government of Indostan, is full of
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wise checks upon the overgrowing greatness of any subject, but as all preventions of that kind depend upon the administration, the indolence; and barbarity of the Moguls or Emperors, and their Great Vice roys have rendered them fruitless.

The original inhabitants of India are called Gentoos. They pretend that Brama, who was their legislator both in politics and religion, was inferior only to God, and that he existed many thousand years before our account of the creation. This Brama, probably was some great Gentoos whose beneficence like that of the pagan legislators, led his people and their posterity to pay him divine honours. The Gentoos priests, called Bramins, pretend that he bequeathed to them a book called the *Vilam* containing his doctrines and institutions, and that though the original is lost, they are still possessed of a commentary upon it, called the *Shastah*, which is written in a dead language called the *sanscrit*, and known only to the Bramins, who study

The necessity of inculcating this sublime, but otherwise complicated doctrine, into the lower ranks, induced the Bramins who are by no means unanimous in their tenets, to have recourse to sensible representations of the Deity and his attributes; so that the original doctrines of Brama, have degenerated into rank, absurd idolatry in the worship of the most hideous figures, either delineated or carved, and the belief of an Omnipotent Being is now almost lost among the Gentoos.

The Bramins have a great sway over the vulgar, and artfully make superstition and credulity subservient to their pride and ambition. Colonel Laurence in a letter to the Governor of Fort St. George, mentioned a sickness, which prevailed among the black people attending the camp, which had been owing partly to the season of the year, and in some measure to bad water. " A Bramin, added he, most probably employed by the enemy came into our camp, and by pretending inspirations, he got at hand about him a crowd of Malabar people. These he threatened with the vengeance of their Gods if they followed the camp, and very artfully insinuated, that the present reigning sickness amongst them, was a punishment inflicted on them by their God, who was offended at their remaining with the English. Upon this they all departed. These are the blacks who are hired to carry the baggage, and sometimes to draw the guns.

The Indians are particularly distinguished from the rest of mankind by their division into tribes, the four principal of which are the Bramins, sol-

soldiers, farmers and mechanics ; these are again subdivided into a multiplicity of inferior distinctions. Though the Bramins use commonly their power over the minds of the people to very bad purposes, some of them are moral and innocent; but in general they are a designing, degenerate set of men ; they agree in those truths, which form the harmony of the universe, that there is a Supreme Being, and that he is pleased by charity and good works.

. The soldiers are commonly called Rajah poots, or persons descended from Rajahs, and reside chiefly in the northern provinces. They are generally more fair complexioned than the people of the southern provinces, who are quite black.

. These Rajah poots are a robust, brave, faithful people, and enter into the service of those who will pay them ; but when their leader falls in battle, they think that their engagements to him are finished, and they run off the field without any stain upon their reputation.

The labourers are the farmers and all who are concerned in the cultivation of lands.

The mechanics are merchants, bankers, traders of all kinds, and are divided into many subordinations.

These different tribes, says Mr. Scrafton, are forbid, to intermarry, to cohabit, to eat with each other, or even to drink out of the same vessel with one of another tribe ; and every deviation in those points subjects them to be rejected by their tribe ; renders them for ever polluted, and they are thence forward obliged to herd with the Hallochires, the refuse and out cast of the other tribes,

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disavowed and detested by them all. This division is attended with infinite inconveniencies, for excepting the Rajah Poots, no Gentoo thinks of defending himself, in case of invasions, which when made from the sea have been generally successful. The same division, however, has notwithstanding all the convulsions of their government, and all their oppressions under the Mahometans, preserved their manufactures amongst them, which while the son can follow no other trade than that of his father, can never be lost but by exterminating the people.

Different kinds of food are assigned to different tribes. The Bramins touch nothing that has life, the soldiers are permitted to eat venison, mutton and fish; the labourers and merchants live differently, according to their sex and professions, some of them being allowed to eat fish, but none of them animal food.

The practice of women burning themselves, upon the death of their husbands, is now disused all over Indostan; and the Gentoos in general chuse death by famine rather than pollute themselves by eating a forbidden food, though they begin now to relax in the practice of their religious duties. The Gentoos are as careful of the cultivation of their lands, their public works and conveniencies as the Chinese; and there scarcely is an instance of a robbery in all Indostan, though the diamond-merchants travel without defensive weapons.

The temples or pagodas of the Gentoos, are stupendous but irregular stone buildings, erected in every capital, and under the tuition of the Bramins, if they are masters of any uncommon art or

science, they turn it to the purpose of profit from their ignorant votaries. Some of them know how to calculate eclipses; and judicial astrology is so prevalent amongst them, that half the year is taken up with unlucky days, the head astrologer being always consulted in their councils. The Mahometans likewise encourage those superstitions, and look upon all the fruits of the Gentoo industry as belonging to themselves. Though the Gentooes are entirely passive under all their oppressions, and by their state of existence, the practice of their religion and the scantiness of their food, have nothing of that resentment in their nature which animates the rest of mankind, yet they are susceptible of avarice, and sometimes bury their money, and rather than discover it, put themselves to death by poison or otherwise. This practice which it seems is not uncommon, accounts for the vast scarcity of silver that till of late prevailed in Indostan. The reasons above mentioned account likewise for their being free of all these passions, particularly that of love, and sensations that render the rest of mankind either happy or miserable. Their perpetual use of rice, their chief food, gives them but little nourishment, and their marrying early, the males before fourteen, and their women at ten or eleven years of age, keeps them low and feeble in their persons. A man is in the decline of life at thirty, and the beauty of women at eighteen, but at twenty five they have all the marks of old age. We are not therefore to wonder at their being soon strangers to all personal exertion and vigour of mind, and it is with them a frequent saying, that it is better to sit than walk, to lie down than to sit

fit, to sleep than wake, and death is the best of all.

The Mahometans, who in Indostan are called Moors, are of Persian, Turkish, Arabic and other extractions. They early began, in the reigns of the Califs of Bagdad to invade Indostan. They penetrated as far as Delli, which they made their capital; they settled colonies in several places, whose descendants are now called Pytars; but their empire was overthrown by Tamerlane, who founded the Mogul government, which still subsists. Those princes being strict Mahometans, received under their protection all who professed the same religion, and who being a brave active people, counterbalanced the numbers of the natives. They are said to have introduced the division of provinces, over which they appointed Soubahs; and those provinces, each of which might be styled a great empire, were subdivided into nabobships, each nabob being immediately accountable to his Soubah, who in process of time became almost independent on the emperor or the great Mogul, upon their paying him an annual tribute. The vast resorts of Persian and Tartar tribes, have likewise strengthened the Mahometan government; but it is observable, that in two or three generations, the progeny of all these adventurers, who though they bring nothing with them but their horses and their swords, degenerate into all eastern indolence and sensuality. They are void of every principle, even of their religion.

Of all these tribes, the Marattas at present make the greatest figure. They are a kind of mercenaries, who live on the mountains between
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Indostan and Persia. They commonly serve on horseback, and when well commanded, they have been known to give law even to the court of Delhi.

Though they are generally Gentoos, yet they are of a bold, active spirit, and pay no great respect to the principles of their own religion.

As the people of Indostan are governed by no written laws, their courts of justice are directed by precedents. The Mahometan institutes prevail only in their great towns and their neighbourhood. The rent and taxes of all the landholders, are immutably fixed in the public books of each district. The Imperial demesne lands are those of the Great Rajah families, which fell to Tamerlane and his successors. Certain portions of them are called jaghire lands, and are bestowed by the crown on the great lords and Omrahs, and upon their death revert to the Emperor, but the rights of the substituents even of those lands are indefeasible.

Thus this great empire has long subsisted without almost the semblance of virtue among its great officers, either civil or military.

The throne of the sovereigns of Indostan was shaken, after the invasion of Mahomet Shah, which was attended by so great a diminution of the imperial authority, that the Subahs and Nabobs became absolute in their own governments. Though they could not alter the fundamental laws of property, yet they invented new taxes, which beggared the people, to pay their own armies and support their power; so that many of the people a few years ago, after being unmercifully plundered

dered by collectors and tax masters, were left to perish through want. To sum up the misery of the inhabitants, those Soubahs and Nabobs, and other Mahometan governors, employ the bramins and the Gentoos themselves as the ministers of their rapaciousness and cruelty. The face of Indostan is entirely changed since the invasion of Kouli Kan; the government properly consists of a republic of sovereigns, who endeavour to support their tyranny and oppression, by a military force, which their dominions, rich, and fertile as they are, can scarcely maintain. As private assassinations and other murders are here committed with impunity, the people who know that they can be in no worse state, concern themselves very little in the revolutions of government. To the above causes are owing the late and present successes of the English in Indostan; and it is their interest to bring as soon as possible, that government back to its first principles, under the family of Tamerlane. Indeed most of the last territorial acquisitions of the East India company have been gained from usurpers and robbers. And their possession of them though guaranteed by the present Emperor, might afterwards be disputed by some successful invader.

In order to know the origin of the late revolutions at the court of Delli, which the East India company's servants, notwithstanding their long residence in Indostan have related so differently, we must deduce the divers pretensions of the successors of Tamerlane, founded on conquest or consanguinity. It is certain that this prince made a deep impression upon this country, and that the present emperor

peror pretends to reign in his right. His immediate descendants were magnificent and despotic princes, who committed a capital error in committing their provinces to rapacious governors, or to their own sons, by which their empire was miserably torn in pieces. At length the famous Arengzebe, though the youngest among many sons of the reigning emperor, after defeating or murdering all his brethren, mounted the throne of Indostan in the year 1667; and may be considered as the real founder and legislator of the empire; he was a great and a politic prince, and the first who extended his dominions, though it was little better than nominal over the Peninsula, within the Ganges, which is at present so well known to the English. He lived so late as the year 1707, and some of his great officers of state were alive twenty years ago. Aurengezebe, like his predecessors, seemed to have left too much power to the governors of his distant provinces; and to have neglected to prevent the effects of that dreadful despotism, which while in his hands preserved the tranquility of his empire, but when it descended to his weak, indolent successors, occasioned its overthrow.

In 1713, four of his grandsons disputed the empire, which after a bloody struggle, fell to the eldest Mauzo'din, who took the name of Jehandar Shaw. This prince was a slave to his pleasures, and was governed by his mistress so absolutely that his great omrahs, or counsellors conspired against him, and raised to the throne one of his nephews, who struck off his uncle's head. The new emperor whose name was Turrukhsir, was governed and at last

aft enslaved by two brothers of the name of Seyd,
 who abused his power so grossly, that being afraid
 to punish them publicly, he ordered them both
 to be privately assassinated. They discovered his
 intention and dethroned the emperor, in whose
 place they raised a grandson of Aurengzebe, by his
 daughter, a youth of seventeen years of age, after
 imprisoning and strangling Turrukhsir. The
 young emperor proved disagreeable to the brothers,
 and being soon poisoned, they raised to the throne
 his elder brother who took the title of Shaw Jehan.
 The rajahs of Indostan, whose ancestors had enter-
 ed into stipulations, which may be called *pacta
 conventa*, when they admitted the Mogul family,
 took the field against the two brothers, but the lat-
 ter were victorious, and Shaw Jehan was put in
 tranquil possession of the empire. He died in
 1719, and was succeeded by another prince of the
 Mogul race, who took the name of Mahommed
 Shaw, and entered into private measures with his
 great rajahs for destroying the Seyds, who were
 declared enemies to Nizam 'al Muluck, one of
 Aurengzeb's favourite generals. Nizam, it is said
 was privately encouraged by the emperor to de-
 clare himself against the brothers, and to proclaim
 himself Soubah of Decan,* which belonged to one
 of the Seyds, who was assassinated by the emperor's
 order, who immediately advanced to Delli, to de-
 stroy the other brother; but he no sooner under-
 stood what had happened, than he proclaimed the
 sultan Ibrahim, another of the Mogul princes,
 emperor. A battle ensued in 1720, in which
 Mahommed Shaw, was victorious, and is said to
 have used his conquest with great moderation, for
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he remitted Ibrahim to the prison from whence he had been taken; and Seyd being likewise a prisoner, was condemned to perpetual confinement, but the emperor took possession of his vast riches. Seyd did not long survive his confinement, and upon his death, the emperor abandoned himself to the same course of pleasures that had been so fatal to his predecessors. As to Nizam he became now the great imperial general, and was often employed against the Marattas, whom he defeated when they had almost made themselves masters of Agra and Delli. He was confirmed in his soubahship of Decan, and was considered as the first subject in the empire. Authors, however, are divided as to his motives for inviting Kouli Khan, the Persian conqueror to invade Indostan. It is thought that he had intelligence of a strong party formed against him at court. The success of Nadir Shaw is well known, and the immense treasure which he carried from Indostan in 1739; some accounts strongly authenticated, make it amount to the incredible sum of two hundred and thirty-one millions sterling, as mentioned by the London Gazette of those times. The most moderate say that Nadir's own share amounted to considerably above seventy millions; besides those treasures he obliged the Mogul to surrender to him all the lands, to the west of the rivers Attock and Synd, comprehending the provinces of Peyshar, Kabul and Gagna; with many other rich and populous principalities, the whole of them almost equal in value to the crown of Persia itself. This invasion cost the Gentoos two hundred thousand lives; it may be considered as putting a period to the greatness of the

the Mogul empire in the house of Tamerlane. Upon the retreat of Nadir Shaw, who left the emperor in possession of his dignity, the Patāns invaded his dominions; and so treacherous were the emperor's generals and ministers that none of them would head an army against them, till the emperor's son, a youth of eighteen years of age, bravely undertook the command, punished the conspiracy that had been formed against his father, and compleatly defeated the invaders. During this campaign the emperor was strangled by his vizier, but by a course of well acted dissimulation, the young emperor, who was called Shaw Amet, found means to put the conspirators to death, but soon after was deposed and succeeded by Allum Geer, this change was occasioned by the following events: In 1754, the Mogul sent Shaw Abaden Cawn, the son of Ganzedy Cawn, who had been appointed by the Mogul prince of the Decan, and chief Bucshee, or treasurer of the empire, at the head of 90,000 horse, to suppress an irruption of the Rasha Pools, who are reckoned the best soldiers in Indostan. In this expedition he succeeded, but on his return to Delhi, an uncle of his taking the advantage of his absence, persuaded the Mogul that he had always been his enemy, and intended making use of his army to dethrone him; the Mogul was the easier persuaded, as the Bucshee had obtained the post he enjoyed, more through power than favour, and had even spoke freely of the Mogul's dissolute way of life, which was generally spent in debauchery; it was therefore agreed, that Shaw Abaden Cawn should be put to death, but as they rightly judged it could not be done openly, the

following scheme was laid for the execution of their design.

The Mogul went to Delli, at the head of 25,000 horse, in order, as he said, to do honour to Shaw Abaden Cawn, and reward him for his services. The Bucshee having intelligence of all that passed, came readily to meet the Mogul; but brought with him 30,000 Marattas, who in case of any attempt were to protect him. The Mogul's party hearing that such precautions were taken, not knowing what might be the consequence, and afraid to offend a man so powerfully supported, disbanded and returned to Delli, leaving their sovereign almost without attendants: who therefore immediately followed his troops: Whether Shaw Abaden Cawn thought this a favourable opportunity to dethrone a man who was a scandal to the dignity of the throne; or whether it was the result of a premeditated design, he followed the Mogul, entered Delli and went immediately to the palace; where, after making his obeisance, and sitting down a little while at the durbar or council chamber with the Mogul, he ordered his people to seize on and imprison him; he then assembled the Omrahs, placed on the throne Allum Geer, a near relation to the late Mogul. The deposed prince according to the cruel policy of their government was immediately deprived of his sight.

The Omrahs, or privy counsellors, are men of the first dignity and family in the Empire. They are under the Vizier, but are mostly concerned in all the revolutions of the state and commonly their interest elects and deposes the Mogul.

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In the beginning of the year 1757, Achmed Abdalla, the Patan's chief, marched to Delli, and took Allum Geer and all the Omrahs prisoners.

After having kept possession of the capital for some time, he at length, on the sixth of June, sent for the Mogul to his tent, where he received him with great honour, and replaced him on the throne, having first secured to himself as large treasure as could be expected from the low state of the finances of the empire. He then proceeded to Agra, and seizing the revenues of that district marched to Lahore, from whence he issued his orders to all the neighbouring nabobs and rajahs, that they should acknowledge themselves in subjection to his son Timur, whom he then proclaimed king of Lahore. Having thus invested his son with the dominion of a country, from whence he proposed he should also superintend the affairs of Indostan, he returned to his own country, recommending to Timur to treat the Mogul with continued marks of regard and friendship.

Shaw Abadin Cawn, the son of Gauzedy Cawn, and consequently the true Viceroy of the Decan, chose rather to have his right to be usurped by Salabat Zing, than relinquish the office of Vizier, which gave him so great an ascendancy over the Mogul, and consequently an unbounded power in the empire. But as the authority of these eastern ministers are precarious, the sons of the Emperor became daily more formidable to the Vizier and created him continual trouble and jealousy. At length, towards the end of
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year 1759, to free himself from all solicitude of that kind, he resolved on the murder of his master, in order that he might place in his stead a more considerable representative of the royal family, who should be less respectable in himself, and not so formidable by the support of his children and other relations. As these were the great obstacles to the ambition of the Vizier, they were no less to the execution of his present design. Therefore, to remove them from the capital, he proposed a hunting match, and took with him the sons of the Mogul, and the greatest part of his friends to a great distance from Delli. The next difficulty was to overcome the suspicions of the Mogul and the superstitious principles of the Meors, who though they are ready to execute any kind of villainy can never be brought to murder their sovereign in the sanctuary of his own palace. They are in general of the most detestable character, except a few Tartar and Persian officers in the army; if they have the appearance of a virtue, it is that of hospitality. And yet whilst they are drinking with, and embracing a friend they will stab him to the heart.

It was well known that Allum Geer had a most particular veneration for the sect of the Fakeers. The respect paid to the numerous body of these worthless and insolent beggars, is owing to the opinion of extraordinary sanctity, which a few of this sect acquire by the performance of certain singular and fantastical vows. At this time there is a Fakeer, who every day,

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rolls himself round the rock at Trichinopoly, which is a mile in circumference.

The vizier was sensible that unless the emperor could be prevailed on, by a motive of devotion, to come from under his roof, no other inducement could ever engage him to abandon what he would consider as his only protection in the absence of his friends. Every thing being concerted accordingly, before the departure of Shaw Abadin Cawn, the creatures of that minister came to the Mogul, and informed him that a Fakeer of most eminent sanctity was in the garden, and though it was with great reluctance that the emperor yielded to the dictates of his zeal, he was at length by their persuasions, prevailed on to go out and meet this holy person, whom he had long expressed a desire to see. He had not advanced many steps in the garden, when two Moors in the habit of Fakeers came suddenly behind him, put a noose about his neck, and then stabbed him with spears till he died on the spot.

As soon as the vizier was informed of the death of his master, he immediately confined the sons and all the friends of Allum Geer, who were then with him and placing on the throne one of the royal family, whom he thought the most convenient for his purposes, went himself directly to join an army of Marattas, who were waiting for him about thirty miles from Delli.

It was not long before the Pattans equally displeased with the vizier for his conduct, and the Marattas for interfering in the government of Delli, marched a considerable force against them, and coming up with them at a place called Paniput,
near

near a hundred miles from Delli, they killed the Maratta general, and put the army to flight, which retreated till they were joined by another body of their own troops, they were pursued by the Patans and routed again in another engagement.

Ahamed Abdalla, then entered Delli, and placed his son Timur, king of Labore upon the throne, and orders were issued out to all the rajahs and governors in the neighbourhood to exert their utmost endeavours to prevent the Marattas from approaching the city. This slippery throne occupied by the degenerate progeny of Aurengzebe, or cautious and debauched usurpers, who most of them perished by the villainous arts of their ministers and favourites, shews that the Moguls are at this time little better than ostensible sovereigns, with pompous and empty titles, whilst their vice-roy and omrahs assume to themselves an uncontroul'd authority. We shall mention in the continuation of this work, the subsequent revolutions, which have at last obliged this proud and luxurious monarch to apply to the East India company for protection, whose interest it is to support him, his authority is the best legal guarantee of his settlements.

winds, generally blow for six months from the South, and six from the north. April, May, and the beginning of June, are excessively hot, but refreshed by breezes. and in some dry seasons the hurricanes which tear up the sands and let them fall in dry showers, are excessively disagreeable.

To what I have said of their religion and sects, I have only to add, that the Fakeers who are a kind of mahometan mendicants and many of them impostors are computed to be eight hundred thousand. Another set of beggars, are the Joghis, who are idolaters and supposed to be twelve millions in number, but all of them vagabonds, and lazy impostors, who live by amusing the credulous Gentoos with foolish fictions. The Baniâns, who are so called from their affected innocence of life, serve as brokers and profess in part the Gentoo religion.

The Parsees of Indostan, are originally the Gaurs, who were banished out of Persia, by Shah Abbas, they are a most industrious people, particularly in weaving and architecture of every kind. They pretend to be possessed of the works of Zoroaster, and called themselves the disciples and successors of the ancient Magi. Some learned Europeans think the book they are in possession of contain many particulars that would throw lights upon the ancient history, both sacred and profane. This opinion is countenanced by the few parcels of those books which have been published, others are of opinion, that the whole is a modern imposture, founded upon sacred traditions and profane histories. It is certain, that the Magi
and

The Mahometan merchants of the western parts of this empire carry on a considerable trade with Mecca in Arabia. This trade is carried on, in a particular species of vessels called junks, the largest of which besides their cargoes, will carry seventeen hundred Mahometan pilgrims to visit the tomb of their prophet. At Mecca they meet with Abyssinian, Egyptian, and other traders, to whom they dispose of their cargoes for gold and silver, so that a mahometan junk returning from this voyage is often worth 200,000 l. In all handicraft trades that the people of Indostan understand, they are more industrious and better workmen than the Europeans; in weaving, sewing, embroidering, and some other manufactures, the Indians do as much work with their feet as the Europeans. Their painting, though they are ignorant of drawing, is amazingly vivid in its colours. The fineness of their linen, and their fillagree work in gold and silver, are beyond any thing of this kind to be found in other parts of the world.

It is more than probable that the Egyptians, the nation from which the Greeks and Romans drew the fine arts, owed them to the Bramins and the Gentoos. The names however of the legislators and learned men, who disseminated the arts of civilization among the Indians, are obscured by impenetrable clouds of allegory. Still the empire of Indostan contains men of the most unspotted lives and profound knowledge of all the original Bramin theology, morality, and civil constitutions. Such men are hard to be discovered, but when accessible, they are modest and communicative in all branches of their learning, but those in which

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they

they are enjoined an inviolable secret; and we have some well attested instances, where they have suffered death rather than betray their secrets, which are hereditary in their families.

The language of the court of Delli is Persian. Since the late revolutions, several provinces have been dismembered from that empire. The principal provinces subject to the Mogul's dominion are, Guzarat a maritime province on the gulph of Cambaya, and one of the finest in India, but inhabited by a fierce rapacious people. It is said to contain thirty-five cities. Amadabad is the capital of the province, which is said to vie in wealth with the richest towns in Europe. There and at Surat forty leagues distant the English have flourishing factories.

The province of Agra, is the largest in all Indostan, containing forty large towns, and three hundred and forty villages. Agra is the greatest city, and its castle the largest fortification in all the Indies. The Dutch have a factory there.

The city of Delli, the capital of that province and of all Indostan, is a fine, populous and opulent city. The imperial palace more extensive than stately and commodious; is furnished with the usual magnificence of the east; its stables formerly contained twelve thousand horses, brought from Arabia, Persia, and Tartary, and five hundred elephants. When the forage is burnt up by the heat of the season, as is often the case, these horses are fed in the morning with bread, butter and sugar, and in the evening with rice-milk, properly prepared.

Tatta, the capital of Sind, is a large city; the plague which happened there in 1699, carried
off

ff above eighty thousand of its manufacturers in silk and cotton. It is still famous for the manufacture of palanquins, a bed, supported by a wooden or ivory frame of six feet long, and near three feet broad, fastened at each end with cross sticks to a bamboo fifteen feet long, which forms an arch over the palanquin, and is covered with a canopy of cloth lined with silk, and stiffened with ribs of the coconut-tree. The Europeans as well as natives, all over India repose on those canopied couches when they appear abroad. They are carried by four men, who will trot along, morning and evening, forty miles a day, ten being usually hired, who carry the palanquin by turns, four at a time. Though a palanquin is dear at first cost, yet the porters may be hired for ten shillings a month each, out of which they maintain themselves. The Indus at Tatta, is about a mile broad and famous for its fine carp.

Though the province of Multan is not very fruitful yet it yields excellent iron and canes; and the inhabitants by their situation are enabled to deal with the Persians and Tartars yearly for above sixty thousand horses.

The province of Cassimere, being surrounded with mountains, is difficult of access, but when entered, it appears to be the paradise of the Indies; it is said to contain a hundred thousand villages, to be stored with cattle and game without any beasts of prey. The capital, Cassimere stands by a large lake; and both sexes, the women especially, are almost as fair as the Europeans, and are said to be witty and dexterous.

The province and city of Lahor formerly made

a great figure in the Indian history, and is still one of the largest and fairest provinces in the Indies, producing the best sugar in Indostan. Its capital was once about nine miles long, but is now much decayed.

The provinces of Agud, Varad, Belkar and Hallabas, are inhabited by a hardy race of men, who have never been conquered, and though they acknowledged the superiority of the moguls, live in an easy independent state. In some of those provinces, many of the European fruits, plants and flowers thrive as in their native soil.

After this general review of the mogul empire, it is requisite for the explanation of the affairs in the Peninsula, to give as many particulars of the Marattas, as can be ascertained. This extensive people have had always a considerable share in the disturbances, and taken a large part in the politics of these countries. As they have no written history, and scarce any tradition, it is difficult to procure a full and satisfactory account of so numerous a nation, once settled, then dispersed, and now re-establishing themselves throughout all parts of the mogul's empire. Tho' they still possess part of their settlements to the north of Delli, great numbers were driven out from thence by Aurengzeb who employed above twenty years in fruitless endeavours to reduce them in their new settlement in the mountainous parts of the Deccan.

They have had continued wars ever since, with all the mogul's subahs and governors, and made innumerable treaties with them, which they observe no longer, than they think it their interest; they have themselves had strange internal revolutions and what

what is most extraordinary the leading men amongst them are Bramins or Priests, hated by the true Marattas, but followed by them for pay.

Their rajah or prince is sacred; and they hold that he ought to be a kind of idol, shut up and fed at the public expence, and the executive power lodged in some other branch of his family, at least such has been the establishment on the Malabar coast; but this was subverted by the usurpation of two bramins who established themselves by force of arms at Guzarat and the country to the southward. The acting head of the government and general of the forces is distinguished on the Malabar coast, by the title of Nanna. The residence of the bramun, their sovereign is Poona, about a hundred miles east south east of Bombay, there all the business of the government is carried on. Every raja or governor in the Mogul's empire pays them a chout or tribute of a fourth of his revenues. This they collect part in ready money, leaving the balance in arrears, which serves them as a pretence for another incursion, whenever they want employment for their troops.

An instance of these Bramins insatiation and barbarity, is that strict observers as they are of the Gentoo religion, and the tenets of the transmigration of souls, they make scruple of killing the most offensive animals, though they eagerly employ their sabres to the destruction of their fellow creatures: the salvo for this extraordinary contradiction, is a device of their priests, who by the sacrifice of a buffalo, with many mysteries and frantic ceremonies, absolve their warriors from the restrictions which bind the vulgar.

These

These Matattas were only a body of horse, freebooters, who alternately took the pay of the highest bidder, they were such as Mararow, one of the commanders in the army of Nazirzing viceroy of the Decan, had picked up to follow his fortunes; and till he attempted to make himself independent, they had no settled habitation, and no profession but war. They have neither art nor discipline, and yet they are formidable to the Moors, who carrying such numerous and incumbered armies to the field, are the easier harrassed and even starved by them. For these pillagers, continually galloping round the country, cut off the convoys, and as most of their parties carry with them, neither baggage nor provisions, they easily elude all pursuit, and in an instant retire to their strong holds. They ride hardy horses inured to fatigue, most part fed with standing corn. The common men have no other cloathing but a turban on their head, and a sash round their waist. Instead of a saddle, they use such a kind of pad, as is recommended by marshal Saxe, truly formidable with their sabres, they are fatal to troops that are once broke.

These merciless ravagers supply the want of trade and manufactures, by the contributions which they raise upon the most wealthy neighbouring powers; who rather submit to be tributary to them, than to maintain standing armies to free themselves from these ravenous foes. What prevents their chiefs from laying waste the country with their armies, is the consideration of their own interest, as a territory ravaged by their troops, could produce neither tribute nor plunder again for some time.

They are destructive foes, and unserviceable friends

friends, they ruin their enemies by burning their country, and their allies by their avaricious demands for money; instead of meriting their pay, which they might easily do after a defeat, by cutting off all the broken troops, they fly to the camp, where every man procures a good burden for his horse, and walking on foot drives him away loaded with the spoil. They have of late years entertained various designs of extending their territories in several parts of the country, and also on the sea-coast. Some of their generals, have set up for themselves in the remote countries they have conquered, and given some other indications of their return from a vagabond life of rapine and disorder, to a more settled system of policy; they took in the last war large districts from the viceroy of Decan, marched to Delli and made a Mogul. They have been a great check upon the Moorish government, and it is owing to their arms alone that the Mahometans have been prevented from the usurpation of the whole peninsula. As the Moors are a luxurious people, in a few years of peace they grow enervated by their debaucheries, and soon degenerate into sloth and effeminacy; a general corruption of manners and the mutual jealousy, distrust and treachery of their princes, would make them an easy prey to the Marattas; should they take the resolution to expel them the country, and though there is not a governor, in the highest rank of power and independency, but styles himself daily the slave of the mogul, there is not one of them in the whole empire that pays the least regard to the solemn orders of that monarch, or that will march his troops to quell any dangerous commotion.

of stir for the preservation of the life of his master.

The only balance to the power of the Marattas, is a race of northern people, inhabiting the mountains of Candahar commonly known in India by the name of Pattans and conquered Isphahan in the year 1722. They are Mahomettans, yet no less enemies to the Moorish government than the Marattas and other Indians they are said to have been descended from an ancient colony of Arabians, who entered the country four hundred years before Tamerlane, and built the city of Masulipatam on the coast of Coromandel; from thence extending their conquests northward, they founded Patna in Bengal, and at last over-ran the whole country to the west, and were masters of Delli when Tamerlane first appeared in India. They were always reckoned good soldiers, and are now considered as the very best infantry in the whole empire.

Now that we have given the reader the necessary intelligence relative to Indostan, where lord Clive is soon to appear in the plenitude of his glory and power, we shall gratify the curiosity of the public in regard to some anecdotes of his private life in England, and in his excursions to the continent. Notwithstanding the noble lord boasted of his zeal and disinterestedness in serving the East India company, it was undoubtedly to retrieve his fortune, considerably impaired by the immense sums he had spent in elections to make himself a party in the house of commons with his relations, friends and dependents; to become a man of consequence by the acquisition of a considerable

considerable landed interest in Shropshire, and to indulge the luxurious fancies of an eastern potentate, that his creatures, at the preceding meetings of the East India proprietors, had solicited and obtained for him the supreme command in their settlements. He was near reduced to the income of his jaghire, and a nobleman of his aspiring views could not be satisfied of an income limited at thirty thousand pounds a year.

Whilst his military fame was confined to his native country, the rapid fortune he had made in India was even magnified in France, by those of that nation who had served on the coast of Coromandel. Lord Clive had nothing to qualify him to please the French, but his money. His reservedness could not agree with their levity, and the distance he kept them at by *un serieux a glacer* was incompatible with the freedom of their manners. He spoke French with repugnance and difficulty, and was unacquainted with the delicacy of the language so necessary with the French ladies. He made his appearance at Paris with some eclat in the winter of the year 1763. His equipage was splendid, his attendants numerous, and his livery magnificent. He visited the British ambassador, as it became a man of his rank and his importance; some French gentlemen who had been in India, and the most distinguished among his countrymen. The first time he went to the opera he was examined *des pieds jusque la tete*, by the French *petits maitres*, the ladies, *du bon ton* and all the nice judges of dress and manners: they observed that his lordship dressed richly, but without taste, and passed condemnation on his peruke-maker.

young, sprightly and beautiful, whose passion for gaming and other extravagancies required more constant supplies, than the fortune of her polite husband could afford, raised occasional contributions on the foreigners of distinction, who resorted to Paris. She contrived to be placed one day, at the play, in a box adjoining to that of lord Clive. He was smitten with her genteel appearance and beauty, but he deferred to declare himself openly, till he was informed of the ladies rank and connections. He learned that she was a person of distinction, married to a gentleman who laid no restraint upon her inclinations, as he indulged himself his taste in promiscuous amours; as far as this, he was pleased with an account which promised him success; but when he heard from another part, that she had had several gallantries, and that her house was a sort of academy for gaming, he thought such a connection might be dangerous and disgraceful, and resolved to efface the first impression her charms had made upon him, by an intimacy with some other lady, more worthy of his attachment. The next time madam d'E——s saw his lordship was on the bulwarks, where both of them were taking an airing in their respective carriages. He spoke to her with civility, but after they had exchanged a few compliments, he took leave of her with an air of indifference, which had damped the expectations of a woman of less skill and spirit. She had enquired particularly into his lordship's disposition and character, and heard from one of his particular acquaintances, that he had declared he should be guarded at Paris against the arts of a coquette, and the snares of a

female gamester. She judged from this report, that she must have been represented to him as a woman guilty of these fashionable vices, and resolved to take the first opportunity to inspire him with a more favourable opinion of her.

One Sunday evening lord Clive walking in the Thuilleries, perceived her sitting on a bench with a gentleman and a lady. As he had not yet seen in Paris any woman whom he thought superior to her in wit and beauty, he could not resist the propensity of joining her, and parted with his company. After a mutual intercourse of civilities he sat by her, and she took occasion of the fine evening which had invited her to take a walk. To express her surprize in seeing so few women of fashion taking the benefit of the air, and to censure the universal passion for gaming amongst persons of quality, which was destructive of all social pleasures and mutual entertainments. “As for my
 “part, (added she,) I have very much against my
 “inclination, been prevailed upon, to yield to
 “this torrent, but however singular I may appear for the future, I am determined to refuse
 “admittance into my house, to all persons whom
 “I have before indulged in gratifying a passion
 “so detrimental to women’s health and reputation. You are no longer mistress of your house
 “when once gamesters have taken possession of
 “it, and men think themselves authorised to
 “take liberties with women who play high. I
 “know that many women have been accused of
 “intimacy with young fops, though they never
 “have had any other intercourse with them but
 “at quinze and lansqueoet.” Whether lord Clive

was doubtful of this lady's reformation, or upon second reflection thought an *affaire arrangee* with her might have disagreeable consequences, he did not seem anxious to see her afterwards. Near a fortnight had been elapsed since he saw her last, when he received this extraordinary letter, which was afterwards made public by her husband at Paris. This is an exact translation of the same.

“ My lord,

“ Of all things I hate suspense and uncertainty: though you declined the invitation I gave you at my house, you gave me hopes to see you in a few days after our accidental meeting in the Thuilleries. It is more than fourteen days since you have made your appearance at the spectacles, or on the bulwarks: if you think me a dangerous woman, though perhaps that opinion may flatter my vanity, in regard to my person, as it implies an injurious suspicion of my sentiments and my principles, it really makes me apprehensive that you rank me in the class of a designing coquet, a character which I truly abhor. I should not, like your eastern women, desire the embraces of a proud imperious Sultan, who have sunk our sex into the most wretched state of contempt and humiliation; nor like your married ladies in England, boast of that female virtue, chastity, which they look upon as a dispensation of more essential obligations. Our education in France is different from other countries; we are shut up in a convent, till our parents think proper to redeem us from a state of captivity, and to match us with a man, whom per-
haps,

haps we have never seen. If marriage in France is a state of freedom, we think we have an undoubted right to chuse the man we love, instead of the husband who has been allotted us without our consent and inclination; if we have frailties incident to human nature, we are capable of generous sentiments and noble actions. My husband, like men of fashion, does not expect from me an inviolable fidelity, provided he is not an eye witness of what you call in England your dishonour; he never disturbs me in any *tete a tete*. I am neither proud nor dissolute, but when once I have set my fancy upon a man, I must have him. You see, my lord, I am very candid; and after this open declaration, you cannot say that I intend to beguile you. As I am not used to be slighted I expect an answer immediately. And am, with great regard,

P. S. Excuse the omission of my name.

My lord,

The only woman you can love."

Lord Clive could not but be surpris'd at the perusal of this extraordinary epistle, though he did not think proper to answer it: least the lady should think herself neglected and despis'd, he sent his compliments to her by a livery servant, and acquainted her, that if convenient, he should wait upon her at the opera on a fixed day. He sat in her box during all this tedious and monotonous concert, and they seem'd so happy with each other, that they gave very little attention to the performers.

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Though the lady intended at first to make lord Clive her property, and to indulge at his expenses her passion for gaming, reserving to herself the privilege of a favourite ; after he had made his proposals, and given her three days to consider whether they were agreeable to her, and if she thought she could fulfil the engagements he required ; the conditions on both sides were punctually performed. Madame E——s, promised to keep no longer a gaming house, and to discharge from future attendance at her toilet, and private parties all her former acquaintances of the masculine gender, on lord Clive paying for her pin-money a thousand *louis d'ors* per quarter. Now they appeared together at all public places happy and unmolested ; even the lady's husband shewed at his house all possible respect to his noble guest, and assured him he was infinitely obliged to his lordship, for the honour he did him, to take the most tender care of his wife. He spoke as he thought, for jealousy is a ridicule that a man of quality is more afraid to be exposed to, than that incurred by any other passion. A sensible well-bred man never ought to believe that his wife is faithless till he sees it, and then he must have satisfaction for the injury. Lord Clive was not acquainted with this punctilio ; he had free access, ingress and regress to and from the ladies apartment without interruption, even when the polite husband was at home ; so that he could not foresee that any disagreeable consequence could follow the sweets of his enjoyment.

The lady who was as regular in the performance of her religious duties, as she was exact to
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the appointments of her noble lover (according to the maxims of the French women, who conciliate their secret pleasures with public acts of devotions) went to mass every Sunday precisely at twelve o'clock. She had come home the night before indisposed with a violent cough, my lord, against his custom paid her a morning visit to inquire after her health, the porter of the house who saw him go in and out at all times of the day, thought he had the same privilege at this unusual hour, as her husband laid in a separate apartment, and was still in his bed he was used to wash himself as soon as he was up with some scented water, and finding none in his room, he went to the apartment of his lady, whom he thought was gone to mass, the lovers had not took the precaution to shut the door, and the husband who would have knocked had he supposed they were there, opened it abruptly, and had an ocular demonstration of a thing he knew long while before, but that he was unwilling to see. "Oh!" said he coolly, I did not know you were there, otherwise you may be certain I should not have disturbed you, but as the devil will have it so, I beg my lord, you will dress you immediately, and favour me with a moment of conversation below." The lady who had not been in the least disconcerted, told his lordship, that though her husband was a man of spirit and untainted honour, yet she hoped the affair would be made up with her mediation. My lord like a true hero, protected by the kind goddess, met face to face his old friend, more vexed at the discovery, than angry with my lord. he received him with the greatest civility, and having

ring offered a seat, to him, he spoke in the following manner.

“ As a nobleman of a military profession, you are, no doubt, perfectly acquainted with the laws of honour, and I dare say you have always strictly adhered to them. In France we do not think our honour depends of our wives fidelity, for in that case few men of fashion in this realm would be reputed honourable. We allow women to indulge their fancies and secret inclinations, as we do our own ; but then we suppose they will have sense and discretion enough to hide from the sight of their husbands the favours they grant to their lovers. My wife and I have till this very day lived in the greatest friendship and harmony, and I hope we shall continue on the same footing, as our affection is grounded on mutual esteem ; not a mere gratification of the senses, which is very different from true love. She knows my delicacy, and I am persuaded of her attachment to me ; but I condemn her for having neglected this morning to bolt her apartment, as I might have sent a servant to fetch what I wanted, which had been ten times worse. Now my lord, I should not praise myself, but I am reckoned amongst all my acquaintances a man of courage, skilful in the art of fencing, and I am obliged to ask satisfaction, for having seen you fill my place in my own house, which no man of spirit must suffer with impunity, by the laws of chivalry : indeed the offence is not of a nature to be revenged by the death of my adversary as a blow, or some public affront ; it is sufficient if I draw from your lordship three

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“ or

“ or four drops of your noble blood - I am sure
 “ the tribunal of the marshals of France, which
 “ takes cognizance of all the affairs of honour,
 “ could not settle this point upon a more equitable
 “ footing. I hope we shall be afterwards better
 “ friends than ever, and that you will continue to
 “ honour madam with the same attention. My
 “ lord, like a man of tried courage, accepted the
 “ rational challenge, and whilst the two champions
 “ were going to draw their swords, the lady came
 “ in, and desired to speak a few words to her hus-
 “ band. Oh madam, (said he,) you are very
 “ forgetful, and I desire you to take for the fu-
 “ ture such measures that I shall not be obliged
 “ to have such a disagreeable *eclaircissement*.” “I
 “ beg your pardon, answered she, I confess I
 “ am in the wrong, depend upon it like a gen-
 “ eral, I shall take care that you never will
 “ surprise me again. As she had been the prin-
 “ cipal party concerned, she begged to be wit-
 “ nels of the reparation.” Mr. E——s having
 desired my lord to be up in his guard, made a pass
 at him, and wounded him with an admirable dex-
 terity; after which they embraced each other
 most cordially, and the lady having been satisfied
 that the sword had not penetrated farther than the
 epidermis, they all three spent the day in mirth
 and convivial festivity.

After this affair had been settled to the honour
 and satisfaction of all parties concerned, Mr. E——,
 whose finances were much *derangees*, thought he had
 a fair opportunity on the strengthening his alliance
 and friendship with the noble lord, to make for
 himself some advantageous stipulations at the same
 time

time that he enlarged the privileges of this illustrious auxiliary. It was agreed between them, that my lord should have an apartment in the house of his most obliging friend, that had a communication with the lady's dressing-room, in order to avoid for the future, all interruption and unseasonable visits; and the husband engaged never to enter his lady's bed-chamber as long as his noble guest should remain under his roof on receiving the moderate sum of twelve hundred *louis d'ors* as an equivalent for the property he had transferred to his ally. The articles were exchanged, *bona fide*, and though they were both satisfied, the husband thought he had the better of the bargain.

As the lady had honourably given up all her admirers for this most useful lover, some of them whose jealousy and vanity had been nettled by her fidelity *à toute épreuve*. to our modern cresses, made particular enquiries concerning his origin, his education and all the circumstances which had preceded his rise and fortune in the East-India company's service. Whoever is acquainted with the national prejudices of the French, knows that the nobility and gentry heartily despise all mercantile professions, and that a gentleman's education in France consists chiefly, in fencing, dancing, riding the great horse, and those exercises which make them to remarkably nimble and graceful. The resentment of one Mr Burton, a gentleman who had been educated at Dr. Sterling's school at Hamsted, in Hertfordshire, for the ungracious reception he had met with from lord Clives who was a little while at the same seminary,

nary, concurred to make public the noble lot's parentage and first setting out into the world. It was soon propagated all over Paris, that Mr. Richard Clive a *precurseur* of Styche, near Drayton, in the county of Salop, was the father of our hero, who indeed had the honour of being related to Sir Edward Clive, one of the judges of the court of Common-pleas : that without having received even the elements of a liberal education, he had been sent as a writer in the East India company's service to Madras, towards the close of the war 1741. That he seemed more calculated for a counting-house than for the camp : that war being at that time more cultivated in India than commerce, the young clerk had took that favourable opportunity of exchanging his pen for a pair of colours. In answer to all these illiberal, though true reflections, some of lord Clive's friends gave out that he had distinguished himself as early as the siege of Pondicherry, with admiral Boscawen in 1748, being then an ensign in the company's troops, and that on the first of September, when the French were repulsed in a sally with a considerable loss, captain Brown, who defended the second trench being mortally wounded, his post was afterwards gallantly sustained by ensign Clive. All his other exploits in India were enumerated and the character given him by that excellent officer major Lawrence, from whom lord Clive acknowledged that he learnt the art of war was published ; and that we should not seem to detract of his merit, we will insert it here.

“ Captain Clive is a man of undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and a presence of

“ mind

mind, which never left him in the greatest danger. Born a soldier; for without any military education of any sort, or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgment and good sense, he led an army like an experienced officer and brave soldier, with a prudence that warranted success. This young man's early genius, continued the major, surprised and engaged my attention, as well before as at the siege of Devi-Cottah, where he behaved in courage and judgment, much beyond what could be expected from his years, and his success afterwards confirmed what I had said to many people concerning him."

Notwithstanding this eulogium, and the advantages he had had over the French when he took root with his officers who were chiefly writers, and other servants of the company, never before employed in a military capacity: they still despised their conqueror, especially for having resumed, for some time, his mercantile profession. After he had signalized himself as an officer, they affected with equal bitterness and malice on his conduct, when he acted as commissary of the army in the expedition of 1750, against Chundasaib, he usurping Nabob of Arcot, and upon the panic which had seized captain Dalton and lieutenant Clive with their battalion, when Mahomed Ally DAWN their ally, was defeated by Chundasaib near Volconda. They condemned severely his imprudence for having been surprised at his return from Verdachellum to Fort St. David's with some servants and seapoys, and observed, that if he had not had the good luck to save himself by the
swift-

swiftness of his horse from a small party of cavalry, of a neighbouring polygar, who pursued him several miles, he would never have been able to retrieve his reputation as a soldier, they added, that captain Clive having made a sally to drive the French, who attempted to regain Arcot with Chundasaib their ally, perceived a seapoy from a window, levelling his piece at him retired precipitately, without acquainting lieutenant Finis with the danger, in consequence of which, this gallant officer was shot dead. They inveighed severely against his pride and arrogance, when he was governor of Fort St David; and as he had been honoured by the Mogul with the dignity of an Omrah of the empire. After the battle of Plassey, his entering Muxadabad in the triumphal manner of a roman conqueror, the 24th of June 1757, was described with the most poignant satyr and infinite humour. Though he affected to despise all these raileries and scurrilities, yet he was inwardly mortified at this ungenerous treatment, from a polite and civilized nation. He quitted Paris abruptly, to the unutterable sorrow of his Pelenope and her obsequious husband. Before he returned to England he went to Spa, where he displayed all the Asiatic pomp and pageantry, to the great mortification of the proud and needy German princes, who as they could not vie with him in opulence, affected to humple him on all occasions, by the precedency they assumed in consequence of their pedigree.

As there were several officers who had a distinguished command in the last war in Germany, they naturally brought into the conversation, the amazing success of the English, their allies in all parts

parts of the globe, and in particular the East Indies, where lord Clive had been an actor so conspicuous. This gave occasion to some eclaircissements on his warlike exploits, and the great fame he had acquired amongst his countrymen. The noble lord who was sensible of all the advantages of the German military skill and discipline, eluded commonly troublesome questions upon that subject. "A Prussian officer of some note told him one day "from the little knowledge I have acquired of the "genius, manners, diet and unexperience in "military affairs, of the people of Indostan, I "would engage at the head of three battalions of "the troops of the king my master, with a company of artillery, to conquer that mighty empire, were not disciplined Europeans to interfere in the contest." You are very much mistaken, sir, answered lord Clive; well, replied the officer, "I wish I had the trial, as I am confident I "should return soon to Europe richer than any "British subject who ever went thither." This was intimating a very mean opinion of the conquests of the noble lord, and he looked upon such declarations as samples of the German bluntness and Gothic impertinence.

Lord Clive experienced daily that though immense wealth will have its sway in a commercial nation, it was not the case in military governments, where the noblesse deigned for the most honorary commands in the army, took always upon a soldier of fortune as an invader of their rights and privileges. It was natural for a man used to homage, who had been courted by Nabobs, and the Mogul himself, to wish to appear again before the
sovereigns

sovereigns of the East, with that supreme military command, and these additional titles, and honour, which alone command respect amongst the Asiatics. We have seen how at his return into England from this last trip to France and to Spain he had contrived to persuade the proprietors of the East India Company, that he was the only man who could retrieve their desperate affairs in Bengal. Being intrusted abroad with full powers civil and military, and preferred to the rank of major general, he set sail for India in the Kent, June 4, 1764, accompanied with several other officers. The season being so far advanced, his lordship had the misfortune to lose his passage, having met with a violent gale of wind, in which the ship lost her mast off Rio da Janeiro.

During his lordship's voyage, by the Albany Indiaman, who had made the quickest voyage that has been known, advice was received at the India house, that the troubles were happily terminated on the Coromandel coast, that Madura and Palnacota were in the hands of the English, that the rebel Joseph Cawn, was subdued and executed, and that all was quiet at Bengal, where governor Vansittart had overcame all difficulties, and was on the point of delivering up his government to Mr Spencer, a gentleman of distinguished character and ability. The death of Joseph Cawn, was thus related: that Mr Marchand with some French troops, having undertaken to support his pretensions against the reigning nabob, was in possession of Madura, but finding the English nabob, by means of English auxiliaries, likely to prevail, he dispatched a French officer, with a flag of truce

from the fort to the English camp, demanding safe guard for his own troops, pay for the black troops, and pardon for those who had deserted; and offering at the same time to deliver up Isoaph Cawn, the moment these terms were granted, having already arrested him for that purpose; the terms were accepted, the town was given up, and Isoaph Cawn delivered over to the nabob, who ordered him to be hanged the next day, in front of the lides. Such was the opinion of the East India proprietors, in regard to Mr. Sullivan's abilities and capacity in the direction of their affairs, that notwithstanding Lord Clive's friends cabals and intrigues, he stood on the list of the proprietors.

Cosim Ali Cawn, with a detachment of Indostans had fallen upon a small party of the East India company's forces and cut them off; a few Europeans being amongst them, he cut off their heads, and sent them to the vizier, which gave great joy to the enemy; but instead of dispiriting the company's troops, it inspired them with a spirit of revenge, that contributed afterwards to the victory they gained over the forces of Indostan.

Major Hector Munro, who commanded his majesty's and the East India company's troops in Bengal, marched on the 20th of October 1764, against the king and vizier of Indostan at the head of an army of 5000 men. On the twenty second they encamped so near the enemy, as to be part out of the range of their shot; the morning of the action at day light, the Major went out with some of the principal officers to reconnoitre their situation, intending to attack them the following day; but finding their whole army under arms, he re-

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turned to his camp, and ordered in the advanced posts and grand guards, the drums to beat to arms, and in less than twenty minutes after, the line of battle was formed having made his disposition for it the day before. They began to cannonade our army at nine o'clock in the morning, and half an hour after, the action became general, our army had a morass in front, which prevented their moving forwards for some time, by which means the number of cannon the enemy had and which were well levelled, and equally well disposed of, galled very much the company's forces. The major was forced to order a battalion of sea-poys, with one gun, from the right of the first line, to move forwards to silence one of their batteries, which played upon the flank of his army, and obliged to support it by another battalion from the second line, which had the desired effect, he then ordered both the lines to face to the right, and keep marching in order to clear the left wing of the morass, and when done, face to his former front, the right wing wheeling up to the left to clear a small wood that was upon his right, then the first line moved forward, keeping a very brisk canonade. Major Munro sent orders to major Pemble, who commanded the second line, to face it to the right about, and follow the first, but that officer saw the propriety of that movement so soon, that he began to put it in execution before he received that order. Immediately after both lines pushed forward with so much ardor and resolution, at which time the small arms began, that the enemy soon after gave way, and five minutes before twelve, their whole army was put to flight. They had 6000 men killed on the field of battle, and we took

from them 130 pieces of cannon, besides several stores of different kinds. Captain Charles Gordon, of the 89th regiment, aid de camp to Major Munro, distinguished himself by his brave and spirited conduct; and major Pemble was recommended to the chairman and court of directors, for his skill and intrepidity. Both these officers had their horses shot under them in the action.

The war carried on by our East-India company against the Mogul, his viceroys and subjects, must unavoidably prove its ruin. We should no longer busy ourselves in pulling down one nabob and setting up another, but we should be nabobs ourselves. The emperor has more than once offered to the company their own terms, and it is madness not to comply; for that the present contention and hostilities, if they are continued, will render the country not worth possessing. What Mr. Holwell says on this subject, is so important and so manifestly pure, that we shall give it nearly in his own words. This gentleman succeeded lieutenant-colonel Clive in the government and precedence of Bengal, on February the eighth 1760, when Mr. Clive embarked for England. He published some years ago a book entitled, "Interesting events relating to Bengal."

"It is true, says he, we have seen our forces in the east, under the conduct of an able and active commander drive the Mogul viceroys out of the provinces; but it is also true, that we have seen lately a spirited conduct and bravery in the Mogul's troops, which ought to strike us with apprehension of future consequences. The Russians when first attacked by Sweden, did not possess a tenth part of

the courage and discipline, that these our enemies have now acquired; and yet the event is known to the world.

“ Let us reason upon very probable suppositions, and not rest in a too great and flattering security, at a time when we have the greatest cause to be alarmed. Suppose the Mogul's viceroy should from experience at last discover, that the only way to conquer us and render our courage and discipline of no effect, is to avoid coming to a general action with us: with the great superiority of numbers they will ever be able to bring in the field, they may by this precaution and dividing their army (which consists chiefly of cavalry) into small bodies, cut off our provisions and forage, beat up our quarters, harass our handful of men without ceasing, and finally destroy us without danger to themselves: and it is morally impossible they should not at last adopt this conduct.

“ Let us again suppose a rupture with France, whilst we are engaged in this war with the Mogul our presidency at Fort William and our other fortresses in a manner deserted, and the chief strength of all our settlements acting at the distances of eight or nine hundred miles from the center of our possessions: each rupture will set at nought the article in the last treaty of peace, which gave us an exclusive right to Bengal, and therefore ought to be attended to; for it is not to be imagined, that they will neglect so favourable an occasion of attacking a settlement, that constitutes in the east the very essence of our being, when they find it left defenceless by the absence of our troops

“ Permit us most humbly to advise, says Mr. Holwell, (addressing our East India company,) that express orders be sent without delay, to your president and governor of Fort William, to make the following overture of peace to the Mogul; viz. that on condition of his appointing and investing (to all intents and purposes) your governor for the time being, soubah of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orixá; you will engage on your part, that the stipulated sum of one khorerc of rupees, (1,250,000l. sterling) shall be annually paid into the royal treasury free of all deductions. As this sum doubles in one year, any advantages the emperors have received from the revenues of these provinces, for the space of forty years last past; we cannot entertain a doubt of his most readily acceding to the terms proposed; as thereby he would also have a powerful ally, who could be occasionally of service to him on any emergency in his government.

“ When we are invested with, and impowered to display the Mogul’s royal standard, the provinces will be equally governed, at a less annual expence and force than the company are now from necessity loaded with. But suppose it double, the stake is amply sufficient as we shall presently demonstrate, *aut soubah aut nullus*, may be our motto.”

As a friend to lord Clive, Mr. Holwell paid him the following compliment. “We cannot enough applaud the seasonable measure of sending out lord Clive, which we esteem a happy event, notwithstanding what could be done upon the present plan of politics has been done without him. The weight of his lordship’s reputation and experience

in these parts will most effectually promote this our new plan ; he is the best qualified to negotiate it, the fittest to be first invested with that high power, and the most capable of fixing and leaving it upon a solid basis.

"This measure was advised, and might have been successfully taken in the year 1760; if it had been, murders and massacres would have been prevented; but it is not now too late to regain the opportunity which we then lost; in consequence of the truth of this assertion, Mr. Holwell proceeds to shew by a rough sketch, if the produce of the revenues, the vast stakes for which we throw. "If we win, says he, our gain will be immense, if we fail, we are but where we were."

The sketch is in substance as follows :

At Natoon, about 100 miles N. E. of Calcutta, resides the family of the Hindoo princes of Bengal, of the race of the Bramins, who died in the year 1748, and was succeeded by his wife. They possess a tract of country of about 150 miles, and under a settled government, their stipulated annual rents to the crown was seventy lack of siccarapees; the real revenue about one khorere and half. The chief towns of these districts are all separately famous for manufacturing the following species of piece goods for the European markets. Coffees, elatches, raw silk, &c. the other towns are famous markets for grain.

The district of Rajah Praunaut of the scribe kind, extends about 500 miles, mostly low lands, and in great part annually overflowed. His stipulated yearly payment 20 lack, the real pro-

duce of his revenue from sixty to seventy The chief products of his country are grain, oil and ghee (an article much used in Indian cookery) it likewise yields some species of piece goods, raw silk, ginger, long pepper, &c articles that usually compose the cargoes of our outward bound shipping The whole of his revenue are usually valued in peaceable times at 30 lack per annum

North west of Fort William, about 35 miles, lie the lands of Rajah Tilluck Chund, extending 120 miles, the stipulated rents of these lands are thirty-two lack per annum, but its real produce and value from 80 lack to one khorere This is the principal of the three districts ceded in perpetuity to the company, by the treaties with Cossim Ali Khan, in the year 1760 Its principal towns supply the East India Company with divers sortments of piece goods. The capital Burdwan, may be properly called the center of the trade of the provinces in tranquil times - this place afforded an annual large vent for the valuable staples of lead, copper, broad cloth, tin, pepper, &c The merchants of Delli and Agra resorted yearly to this great mart and would again if peace was established in the country They purchased the above staples, either with money or in barter for opium, salt, ptre and horses This district produces raw silk. They manufacture in their villages inferior sortments of cloth It produces grain equal to the consumption of the people only.

The family of this Rajah farmed lands to the amount of four lack per annum, contiguous to the

the bounds of Calcutta. To the west of Burdwan lie the lands belonging to a Rajah of the Bramin tribe; they possess an extent of 160 miles, this district produces an annual revenue of 90 lack.

Bisrappye the capital, is also the chief seat of trade. Contiguous to it lie the territories of a Mogul prince. He is taxed at ten lack per annum.

North east of Calcutta distant about 30 miles lies Hisnagar, the fort and capital of a Rajah, who possesses a tract of country of about 120 miles, and is taxed at nine lack per annum, though his revenues exceed 25 lack. Cotton yarn is manufactured for the European markets in his principal towns.

The revenues of the city of Decca, once the capital of Bengal, at a low estimation amount annually to two kherore, proceeding from customs and duties levied on cloths, grain, oil, ghee, beetle-nut, chank metals, salt and tobacco.

The foregoing instances of the value of the lands in the provinces of Bengal, only held by the rajahs, shall suffice, says Mr. Holwell, without particularizing these held by the Zemindars, (officers of horse and foot) scattered through the provinces, some of whom are very considerable land-holders; these are generally taxed nearer the real value of their lands, than those which are held by the Rajahs.

The revenues of the city of Patna and those of the province of Bahar, the rich government of Purnea, of the capital Muxshadabad, with several petty nabobships towns and districts already ceded to us

by the treaty of 1760, and the districts ceded by the treaty of 1757, all held by a most precarious tenure, whilst this war with the government subsists.

“ To sum up the whole, says he, we venture to state our credit and veracity on the assertion, that the two provinces of Bengar and Bahar, wilfully yield a revenue of 13,760,000*l.* sterling ; if it yields this under a despotic and tyrannic government, in times of peace and currency of trade, what may we not expect more from its improvement under a mild and British one. To conclude, we repeat if we should succeed in the attempt, great and glorious will be the British name in those parts, and immense the gain to the company and nation ; if we fail, nothing remains but to obtain a lasting peace on almost any terms ; for if the war continues much longer on the present ineffectual and expensive footing, the company cannot possibly support it ”

We should think ourselves wanting to our engagements to the public, in regard to the transactions in India, in which the late general Lawrence has acted so conspicuous a part, did we omit to pay a just tribute to his memory, in exhibiting at one view the military virtues and constant services of this brave, active and experienced commander. The narrative of his own campaigns is full of instruction, though written in a camp, and with the precision and energy which distinguishes the character of a soldier. General Lawrence first introduced military discipline amongst the company's troops, who before he taught them these skilful manoeuvres and evolutions that have ever since in-

ured success to the English against the natives, were despised even by the Indians, who had long before now rooted them out from the peninsula of Indus, had they remained in the same ignorance of the art of war, in which he had found them.

As early as the year 1730, the French opened a scene of troubles, and intestine wars in India, by taking part in the disputes of the Nabob Mahomet Ally Cawn, and supporting the claims of his competitors.

Nizam Almuluck, viceroy of Deckan, according to his right of nominating a viceroy of the Carnatic, now more generally known by the name of the Nabob of Arcot, appointed Sadet Aly Cawn, who was succeeded by his nephew Deust Aly Cawn, who governed in the year 1740.

Chundisub, a man of an obscure origin, without fortune and connections, but endowed by nature with talents and a capacity that made ample amends for these accidental advantages, had the command of a small district of country, and could bring about an hundred horse into the field. He served under the governor of the Carnatic, who sensible of his merit and grateful for his services, married him to one of his daughters.

The kingdom of Trichinopoly was then under the Gentoo government. The king dying left no children, and appointed his brother's son to succeed. The dowager queen, supported by her two brothers, put in a claim to the regency, till her eldest brother's son was of a fit age to reign. There was a third party formed by a relation of the deceased king, who demanded the throne as his right, and brought a large army to support his
pre-

pretensions. The king's party was soon thrown out of the competition, and the dispute continued between the queen and the king's relations. The queen applied to the Nabob of Arcot, and he came to her assistance, and with him Chundasaib, as his general who managed affairs so well, that having weakened both, he formed a stronger party for himself, and waited with patience till his scheme was ripe for execution. Under pretence of a visit to the queen, he introduced himself and some troops into the town, got possession of it, put to death all the different competitors, plundered and imprisoned the queen, who, finding no resource left, poisoned herself; first burning the Alcoran on which Chundasaib had sworn that his only views in this visit was to shew marks of respect. Thus the government of the kingdom of Trichinopoly was changed in 1738, and still continues under the Nabob of Arcot, who commonly gives it to one of his family.

In the year 1740, the Marattas invaded Arcot, and overthrew Deust Ali Cawn in a battle which cost him his life. On this tragical event his son fled to Madras, and then obtained the protection of Mr. Benyon, then governor. Soon after he received a grant from the wiceroi of Deckan, appointing him Nabob of Arcot, but in the year 1744, he was treacherously murdered at a feast made by his brother-in-law at Velloure, a strong fort twelve miles from Arcot.

Chundasaib remained at Trichinopoly till the year 1741, when the Marattas came a second time into the country, besieged the town, got possession of it, and took him prisoner. He was carried to the Marattas capital and then confined till 1745.

Nizam Almuluck, viceroy of the Deckan dying the same year, left four sons. Though the succession in this country is not hereditary, yet it commonly runs in the same family, especially when the survivors have power to make good their pretensions, and money to secure the Mogul's appointment. The eldest son was then pay-master general to the Mogul, the second man in power, next to the vizier, in this mighty empire having perhaps more ambitious views he refused the viceroyalty of the Deckan, and made over his interest to his next brother Nazirzing, who was appointed by the Mogul Shaw Hanet.

Muzapherzing who laid claim to the Carnatic having engaged to have Chunda Saib released from his confinement, the general promised on his being set at liberty to go to Pondicherry, and influence Mr. Dupleix to assist, and support Muzapherzing's pretensions.

Chunda Saib, was no sooner free from his shackles than he set out for Pondicherry, and by some presents and large promises, influenced Mr. Dupleix whose predominant passions were ambition and avarice ; and when Muzapherzing was ready he was joined by six hundred French and a train of artillery. In July 1749, they marched for Arcot and then encountered Anaverdy Cawn, sabbob of Arcot, who lost the victory and his life. His eldest son was taken prisoner and the second made the best way to his government of Trichinopoly, waiting there for an opportunity to revenge his father's death. The victorious army pursued the blow, took Arcot, and over-ran the whole province. They afterwards returned to Pondicherry, where Muzapherzing appointed Chunda Saib, na-

job of Arcot. They remained quiet at Pondicherry, till Admiral Boscawen sailed for Europe, not daring to move till he was out of sight. The day after, October 21, 1749, they took the field and raised contributions all over the country. The French commanded by Mr. Law, the famous projector's son, marched and laid siege to the capital of the king of Tanjour, who refused to acknowledge Muzaperzing nabob of the Carnatic. The French afraid to venture an assault, tho' the people of the town were reduced to their last barrel of powder, consented to raise the siege, on receiving some lacks of roupces in ready money, and a bill for seventy-five lacks more; after one day's march the French returned, insisting on a sum of money for themselves, but the king of Tanjore having received in that time a re-inforcement of seapoys and gunners, refused their demands, but having got intelligence of Nazerzing's march towards Arcot, in order to punish the French nabob and Chunda Saib for their rebellion, they raised the siege a second time in good earnest and retired to Pondicherry in January 1750.

Mahomet Ali Cawn, the lawful pretender to the Carnatic, had desired the assistance of the English. Justice and policy required to put a stop to the progress of the French, whose oppressive power must at last have proved our ruin. This determined the East India company's servants to protect Mahomet Ali Cawn. Captain Cope was therefore sent with a detachment to Trichonopoly, and joined Nazirzing at Waldore, who conferred some honours upon this officer, and appointed Mahomed Ali Cawn, who was with him, to succeed his father as nabob

nabob of Arcot and Trichonopoly Muzapherz and Chandz Saib, marched out of Pondicherry with their army, and 2000 commanded by Mr Daurail, with a large train of artillery, and a numerous body of seapoys. They took post at the earnest desire of Naziring, at whose repeated intreats, major Lawrence, who by modelling the company's troops, after the best disciplined veterans, had given a high opinion of his knowledge in the art of war, to the Indian forces, marched with five hundred men, accompanied by Mr Westcot, a member of the council, with a commission to treat with the viceroy of Deckan, in which they were assisted by captain Dalton.

as he pleased, he was ready to support him! The French were entrenched and had 20 pieces cannon; Nazerzing had 800. The officer who commanded his artillery was an Irishman, for the natives in general think every European an engineer. Major Lawrence finding fault with the disposition of the artillery, which was in a hollow where the cannon were hid, he gravely replied, "Do you think I am mad, to expose his excellency's cannon, by placing it on a rising ground."

The two armies were so near, that the next day they cannonaded, and were drawn in battle array. In this situation a messenger came to major Lawrence from Mr. Dantcuil to acquaint him, "that although they were engaged in different causes, yet it was not his design, nor his inclination, that any European blood should be spilt; but as he did not know the post of the English, should any of his shot come that way, and hurt the English he could not be blamed," the major sent him for answer "that he had the honour of carrying the English colours on his flag gun, which if he pleased to look out for, he might know from thence, where the English were posted," and he assured him he should be also very loth to spill European blood; but if any shot came that way, he might be assured he would return them.

To know whether major Lawrence was in earnest, a shot was fired from their battery, over the heads of the English auxiliaries; the major ordered three guns to answer it, and saw them well pointed. Mr. Dantcuil, seeing him resolved not to look tamely on, and probably fearing the success
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of an action, thought it more prudent to retire in the night. For the greater expedition he left behind him eleven pieces of cannon with part of the men who served his artillery, the better to conceal his design.

Nazerzing, having immediate notice of his retreat, soon routed Muzapherzing's forces, and falling in with the unfortunate French gunners, left behind as a sacrifice, he cut most of them to pieces. Major Lawrence saved with his men as many as he could, taking them by force from the hands of the Moors, and ordering the surgeons of his army to dress their wounds, took all the care of them, that humanity required. In return Mr. Dupleix wrote a long protest against major Lawrence, for making French subjects prisoners in time of peace.

The same night a large detachment of Marattas, from Nazirzing's camp, commanded by Mararow, an intrepid chieftain, was sent in pursuit of Mr. Danteuil, who formed his men into a square at their approach. Mararow attacked and broke it with only fifteen men, imagining his whole party in his rear; but seeing his danger in being surrounded, he opened his way through a thick battalion of the enemy with six men, having lost the other nine in the attack.

On the retreat of the French army, Muzapherzing submitted and implored the mercy of his uncle, who detained him as a state prisoner. But Chunda Saib, whose sole dependance was on Mr. Dupleix, retreated with the French to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix after this disgrace wrote a long letter to Nazirzing, which he would not open

ut in the presence of major Lawrence. Though he pretended submission to the viceroy, he had the presumption to dictate to him, and insist, that one of the family of Anaverdy Cawn, should ever govern the province of Arcot.

Mr. Dupleix, at the very time that he treated publicly for an accommodation, concerted secret measures with Nazirzing's prime minister, and the nabobs of Cadapat, and Condanore for the destruction of the viceroy of Deckan. These nabobs whose territories lay in the kingdom of Golconda, had in their pay a number of Patans esteemed very useful in assassinations and other acts of villainy. Major Lawrence was informed of this conspiracy, and desired his interpreter, to acquaint Nazirzing with his prime-minister's treachery, but the linguist durst not accuse a person who had engrossed all the authority of his master.

The instructions of major Lawrence to Nazirzing were to obtain an additional district for the company round Madras, which he frequently promised, and had certainly performed, had not his prime minister, who was in the French interest contrived to start a number of difficulties in adjusting finally this affair.

The more we urged against his march to Arcot, the more his favourite pressed him to it; our removal from him was the great object of the conspirators, who had resolved his ruin.

General Lawrence finding all his endeavours fruitless against the Viceroy's fatal determination, the English marched to their settlements and Nazirzing to Arcot, where lulled to a security, he gave himself up entirely to the pleasures

tures he was fondest of, women and hunting. Nothing was omitted by his perfidious enemies to amuse him, and take off his attention from business, or whatever might lead to a discovery of the designs which were carrying on against him.

The French having defeated the detachment of Marattas who were encamped near Porucherry, with their usual supineness, they next took the field with Chundasaib, and marched for Trivrti, a fortified Pagoda situated about sixteen miles west of Fort St David's, of which they got possession.

The Nabob Mahomed Ali Cawn, who had attended Nazirzing to Arcot, desired a party from the English army to oppose and punish the Freres and Chandasaib, and at the same time applied for a train of artillery. Captain Cope, with 400 of military, and a body of seapoys marched to his assistance, and in conjunction they moved towards the enemy. At that time major Lawrence was prevented from taking the field himself, being obliged to fill the chair, vacant by the removal of Mr Floyer, till Mr Saunders who was appointed to succeed could come from Vizagapatam. Soon after his arrival the major embarked for England, where he received the thanks of the court of Directors, for having by his example first roused his countrymen from their lethargy, and by his prudence, courage and activity raised the military reputation of the company's forces. He was not presented with a rich sword set with diamonds, as was afterwards captain Clive, who learned from him the first elements of war, but he enjoyed the secret

happiness and satisfaction to have merited greater rewards, without censure and reproach.

The Nabob Mahomed Ali Cawn for want of magazines and money, being unable to march his army between the French and Pondicherry, and the expences of the expedition falling entirely upon the company, captain Cope had orders to return. The very night after, the French and Chundasaib attacked the Nabob in his camp; it could not be called a battle, but a rout; the troops instead of fighting, ran away in small parties, and every thing fell into the victor's hands; even the Nabob with difficulty made his escape almost unattended. Nazirzing. The enemy followed the blow, and partly by threats, partly by fair promises got possession of Gingee, a place strong by nature, and well fortified according to the Eastern manner. They secured their new conquests by a standing garrison, and it was well provided with ammunition and artillery.

Nazirzing alarmed by the loss of Gingee, marched immediately from Arcot to re-take that important place, declaring he would succeed or never return. He surrounded the fortress with his army; the French and Chundasaib were encamped under the walls. They were to attack part of the camp which the Nabobs of Cadepah and Condanore occupied, and their troops had instructions to make no resistance. The Nabobs had engaged on their part to assassinate Nazirzing at his first appearance on the alarm. The attack was no sooner begun, but the two Nabobs went directly to Nazirzing's tent, and meeting him as he came out, they intreated him to mount his elephant, and punish the rebels.

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The unfortunate prince was disposing himself to follow their advice, when the stroke was given, the one stabbing him with a poignard, while the other shot him with a pistol. His hand was severed from his body, fixed on a spear, and brought to his nephew Muzapherzing, who being immediately released, and mounted on his uncle's elephant, was proclaimed through the camp viceroy of the deckan. So general was the consternation, that every body thought of saving themselves, not knowing who were friends or enemies. The French pushed their way to Nazirzing's tent, where was found an immense treasure in money and jewels, by which many made their fortunes; but none comparable to that of Mr. Dupleix, which by all accounts, was not to be equalled at that time by any subject in Europe.

To perpetrate the memory of this infamous victory which the French had boasted of as superior to any thing recorded in history; Mr. Dupleix near the place where the massacre was committed, caused a town to be built called Dupleix Fereabat, the place of victory, and a pillar was designed to be erected in the market place of Pondicherry, with a pompous Latin inscription, giving an account of the engagement, with an extravagant praise of the French valour. Captain Clive, a year after in retaking the province of Arcot, burnt the town and destroyed the monument on which the pillar was to have been erected. This precedent of French injustice, cruelty, and perfidy, to which an independent prince fell a sacrifice, has been too often followed by the English company's servants.

The army of those civilized ruffians and freebooters, returned to Pondicherry, in January 1751, with a most sumptuous train of the princes of the Deckan, and divided the spoil. Muzapherzing declared Chanda Saib, nabob of Arcot, and all its dependencies, and associated Mr. Dupleix in the government with himself. This imperious French upstart assumed on this the state and formalities of an eastern prince. He held his durbar or court like a Mogul prince in the palace at Pondicherry, and suffered neither the natives nor his own countrymen to approach him, without a present after the eastern manner. He mounted his elephant and was proclaimed nabob.

Mahomed Ali Cawn escaped, with the utmost difficulty, and without attendants; he happily reached Trichinopoly, notwithstanding the great search made to seize his person. It was agreed at Pondicherry, that Chanda Saib should raise an army, and assisted by the French, endeavour to make good his appointment to the government of Arcot under Mr. Dupleix.

Muzapherzing began his march for Aurengabad, the usual residence of the princes of the Deckan, accompanied by Mr. Buffy, at the head of 600 French, 3000 seapoys and a large train of artillery. On the road the two nabobs of Condemore and Cadapah, jealous of the new Viceroy and the power of the French, and not thinking themselves sufficiently rewarded for their villainy, proceeded to outrages that produced an engagement, in which Nazerzing was in some measure revenged by the death
of

of his nephew, the chief of the conspirators.

The nabob of Condemore lost his life in the encounter.

The next day the chiefs of the army proclaimed Sallabatzing brother to Nazirzing, viceroy of the Deckan. At this time the troubles at the court of Delli, prevented the Mogul from settling the affairs of the Deckan; in the interim he appointed Gauzdey Cawn governor of that province, and this new prince confirmed Mahomed Aly Cawn nabob of Arcot.

Captain de Gingines, a Swiss officer, at the head of 500 men, collected from all the English settlements, was sent to observe the motions of Chundasaib and the French. He attacked the fort of Volconda without success, and his army, after some loss was obliged to retire.

Major Lawrence in his narrative of the war, on the coast of Coromandel, has shewn his knowledge of lactic and fortifications, by the maps annexed to his description of the country he mentions that extraordinary rock which stand in the middle of Trichinopoly, and is about 300 feet high. On the top of it is a pagoda, which was of singular use to him in the war, its height commanding as far as Tanjore, which is forty miles; here was constantly stationed a man with a telescope, who gave the English by signals and writing on account of all the enemy's motions. The major laments that the plain of Trichinopoly, once crowded with

With villages and plantations; has been since the war made a desert.

He took in the year 1749, the Fort of Davecota, which belonged to the king of Tanjore, the possession of which enabled us to support the nabob, and king of Tanjore, who was so pleased to see it in the hands of the company, that he annexed to it a little territory; he computes the revenues of this small kingdom to a million sterling. The king found his interest to be a friend to us, and the nabob during the war, as he knew well the French wanted his country as a most beneficial acquisition, besides he hated the French, since they had laid siege to his capital; it was also the interest of the English to live in amity with the king of Tanjore, as his country was the only communication we had left with the coast, whilst the French had the superiority in the peninsula.

The kings of Masfore and Tanjore, had joined the English, when Major Lawrence landed from England the 15th of March 1752. On the 17th he joined captain Clive, just ready to march with a party to Trichinopoly, and took the command of the company's forces. After having given some more particulars of this gallant officer's military operations, we shall inform the reader, of lord Clive's regulations on his arrival in India.

The successful expedition of Mr. Clive into the province of Arcot during the absence of the major, had probably made the young commander vain of the name he had acquired by this prosperous campaign; whether his equals were envious of his fortune, or that he began to treat them with an arrogant superiority, the majority of officers

officers and soldiers expressed a great joy at the return of their favourite leader, whom they revered as the only man fit to command them ; though he took no notice of an anonymous letter he received, yet it convey'd the disgust some part of Mr. Clive's conduct had given to several officers. A copy of it has been communicated to the editor by a gentleman who served at that time in a military capacity in Bengal. It is as follows,

To the honourable major Lawrence, commander in chief of the honourable East India company's forces.

“ S I R,

“ We most heartily congratulate you as well as ourselves upon your safe return to India ; and we think ourselves happy to serve again under a commander so justly entitled to our respect and confidence ; though we claim no other merit as officers than to have done our duty in all the various departments of the military service, and are sensible how subordination is necessary for carrying on operations with success and unanimity ; we cannot dissemble our surprise and discontent to see a man, who, till lately has emerged from the obscurity of a counting house into the field of honour, preferred by favour to an honourable command, to which several of us had a prior right by seniority, and we may truly say a knowledge and experience acquired in divers campaigns, before his name was even mentioned as an officer. His unbecoming haughtiness and want of regard for
 our

our opinion in measures carried on without even estimating his designs, but to his friends and confidants, is a contempt we will not submit to. We hope you will make him sensible of his illiberal deportment, and that whatever idea the honourable company might have of his great exploits, there is none of us but were capable to conquer a province, which the enemy abandoned with disgrace and pusillanimity, least the service should suffer by our divisions and animosities, we think it consistent with prudence not to sign our names. We hope his gentleman's preferment will not serve as a precedent, &c."

Major Lawrence in his narrative gives a hint of this letter, attributed to an officer who has since raised to the command of the company's forces.

Major Lawrence did every thing that his prudence and his sagacity required to prevent the fatal effects of that spirit of division which had unhappily crept in among the officers of the company, so that many opportunities and advantages had been lost, which gave the princes of the country, leagued against us, a very contemptible opinion of our conduct.

The major in his march to Trichinopoly, had a skirmish with a detachment of the enemy's cavalry commanded by Allum Cawn, who was killed in the encounter, and above 200 of his men; on which they retired with the rest of their army; the French bringing up their rear, moved back to their camp, and left the major continue his march unnoticed.

He waited on the Nabob Mahomed Alli Cawn, the unisore general, and the rest of the alliance, in

order to settle the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. The company's forces consisted of 1200 Europeans and Topasses in battalion, 200 seapoys in the English pay, and the army of the allies amounted to 1500 horse, and 10000 foot. There it was agreed to attack the enemy in their camp, and in case they should retreat to Seringa Island and decline an engagement, to take such measures as entirely to cut off their communication with the country, which they effected soon after, and obliged them to surrender for want of provisions.

Ready and resolute as the Indians appear in councils, they are ever dilatory and supine in execution; tied down to superstitious rites, fasts and feasts, auspicious and lucky days: nothing stimulates them to action, till these ridiculous customs and ceremonies are complied with, which seldom happens before the opportunity is lost.

The army under Mr. Law consisted of 600 Europeans, Topasses and Cossrees; 180 French seapoys, and above 17000 black cavalry and infantry, in all above 20000.

The Topasses are the descendants of the Portuguese who first settled in India, and married with the natives, they differ very little in colour from the Indians themselves, from which they are distinguished by wearing hars. Cossrees is become the general name for all negroes, who are brought to India from the Cape, the coast of Guinea, and chiefly from Madagascar. They are brave and steady in the field.

It was in this campaign that captain Clive, who had been sent by major Lawrence with a strong detachment the other side of the island, to attack

cut off the communication of the enemy with Andicherry, was shamefully surprised, a fault pardonable in a commanding officer, and committed a capital error, the consequences of his swiftness and false security. Finding at Outatoor at the report of a convoy he went to intercept, had been artfully spread by the enemy, in order to draw him from his post at Samiaveram, he resolved to return immediately to his former station. He arrived near the Pagoda about eleven at night, and having ordered his men to take some rest, after his long and fruitless march, he retired to his palanquin.

The French, ignorant of captain Clive's return, arrived about four in the morning at Samiaveram, where they found every thing as quiet as they could wish: their guides led them directly to the Pagoda. In their approach the party left there in the morning by captain Clive challenged, and were answered friends, by some deserters of the English army. This contented the detachment who guarded the Pagoda, mistaking the enemy for some of captain Clive's returning party, and they were not convinced of their error, till the seapoys began to fire.

Captain Clive awakened and alarmed at the firing, ran in great confusion towards it, and imagining the French seapoys whom he had joined, and were rushing into the Pagoda to be his own troops, began to reprimand them in the country language, for having given these false alarms. One of the seapoys officers perceiving he was an Englishman, drew his sword, and cut at him, which captain Clive parried by advancing forwards, and receiving

ing the blow from near the hilt, another officer of the English seapoys coming to his assistance, cut down his assailant, and disengaged captain Clive; who by this time, sensible of his mistake, and with the same good fortune that always accompanied him, escaped the danger to which his own imprudence and gross error had exposed him. He went afterwards in search of his detachment, which he found under arms, but in the mean while his own party in the Pagoda was dislodged, and the French took possession of the post.

He tried to recover by rashness what he had lost by his misconduct. Having formed his detachment with precipitation, he marched to the Pagoda, and ordered the gate to be stormed: the officer who attempted it was received by a platoon of the enemy, who killed him on the spot and many of his party wantonly sacrificed to the pride and madness of the commander. On this captain Clive thought necessary to send for large pieces of artillery; and the French commanding officer seeing himself threatened with a handful of men with all the terrifying engines of a regular siege in a post that was not tenable, bravely endeavoured to sally out of the Pagoda sword in hand, but being killed in the attempt with some of his foremost people, the rest surrendered at discretion. The French seapoys without the Pagoda were inhumanly cut to pieces by the Maratta cavalry. Monagee, general of the Tanjore troops retook Koiladdy the 21st of April, and the Nabob gave this place to the king of Tanjore, as it guarded the banks which conveyed the river Cauvery into his country, by the means

means of artificial canals which are the sources of this kingdom's riches and fertility.

At this time the enemy were so reduced for want of provisions, that the Indian army, on pardon and protection promised by the Nabob of Arcot, came over to major Lawrence's army in great numbers; one of their generals, named Cooplaib joined him with a thousand horse, a large body of seapoys and fourteen elephants. These animals are often employed by the Indians in the sieges of fortified places. When captain Clive was besieged in the city of Arcot, one of the gates was attempted to be forced open by elephants with large plates of iron fixed to their foreheads; they turned furious from the musketry, and trampled on those who conducted them.

Chundasaib dispirited and reduced to the greatest extremity, without money to pay his troops, implored the friendship of Monagee the Tanjore general, whom he thought a generous enemy, he begged and obtained leave to pass through his camp to Tanjore, but contrary to his faith and honour sacredly pledged, the moment he was in the power of Monagee, he was made his prisoner. He had no doubt escaped to Pondicherry, but he was apprehensive Mr. Dupleix would disapprove a step so prejudicial to the French interest.

The next day, June the first, the Nabob, the Maissore and Maratta generals, Monagee and colonel Lawrence, being assembled, it was debated how to dispose of this ill-fated man. Colonel Lawrence heard their different opinions, before he declared his own. The Nabob and Monagee judged it was an impolitical and dangerous forbearance

to set at liberty the author of all their troubles and apprehensions. The Marissore general and Marrow were for having him in their possession. Finding they could not agree, colonel Lawrence actuated by sentiments of compassion and humanity, proposed, to keep him confined in one of the company's settlements. This was by no means approved, and they parted without coming to any resolution, but Mongee in violation of the most sacred oaths, without consulting the Nabob or colonel Lawrence, ordered him to be beheaded on June the third. The head was sent to the Nabob, and then brought to the neck of a camel, was carried five times round the walls of Trichinopoly, attended by 100,000 spectators.

Thus fell Chundasaib the victim of his immoderate ambition. Successful crimes and usurpations, not unavailing victory create the admiration of the Indians. In private life, Chundasaib was humane, generous and benevolent.

Mr. Dupleix in his memoirs, falsely asserts, that colonel Lawrence himself ordered the death of Chundasaib, notwithstanding that calumny had been clearly confuted before.

Thus Mahomed Ali Cawn was reinstated by major Lawrence in the nabobship of the Carnatic.

The French became so much streightened for want of provisions, that Mr Law desired colonel Lawrence's mediation with the Nabob, who met him in consequence and explained to him the terms on which he was to surrender. One of the articles was, that the officers should give their parole, not to serve against Mahomed Ali Cawn and his allies, which being signed by Mr. Law, captain Dalton

took possession of Seringham, and the French marched out, being about 600 Europeans, and 300 seapoys, the rest of the allies availing themselves of the Nabob's clemency, separated and dispersed. Captain Campbell with a party escorted the prisoners to Fort St David. All the possessions of the Nabob being secured to the south, Colonel Lawrence imagined nothing remained to make the peace permanent than to establish him in the sole and unmolested enjoyment of his northern territories, where the only sort of consequence that would give him any trouble, was Gingee, still occupied by the French. Colonel Lawrence having observed the backwardness of his allies in assisting him to reduce the rest of the province, endeavoured in vain to reconcile the chiefs, whose respective claims and demands dissolved a league whose object seemed to make the province of Arcot their property. Colonel Lawrence marched with the Nabob to Trivédry, where the enemy had left a small party, which surrendered on their first summons. There the major left the army under the command of captain de Gingin, being in so bad a state of health, that he could not keep the field !

Dupleix who had a genius fertile in resources, and a pride which supported him in the greatest difficulties, never considered the justice of the cause he espoused ; he never hesitated about the means of compassing his end, when he found it agreeable to the dictates of his ambition and avarice. His council was composed of his own creatures who was never assembled to deliberate, but to obey implicitly his arbitrary mandates. He had
mar-

married a woman born in the country, mistress of all the low cunning peculiar to the natives, well skilled in their language; and endowed with as much spirit, art and pride as himself.

On Chundasaib's death, he proclaimed Razaib his son, Nabob of the province, and to prove he had an undoubted right to appoint whom he pleased to the government of Arcot, he gave out that the Mogul had sent him sanads or commissions, declaring him governor of all this part of the Carnatic, from the river Knistnah to the sea. These sanads were proved to be a forgery, and the whole contrivance detected, in the most public manner, as will appear.

The supposed messenger from Delli, was received with all the honour and ceremony usually paid to an ambassador from the Mogul; and to compleat the farce, Mr. Dupleix himself in the country manner, with music and dancing girls before him, mounted on an elephant, received with due reverence from the hands of the pretended ambassador, his commission from the Mogul, and in consequence of this imposture, gave out all orders from that time as a viceroy, he even kept his durbar or court, sat on a sofa, and received presents from his council as well as the natives, like a prince of the country; and he assumed the character of subah of the Deckan.

Mr. Dupleix finding that Chundasaib's son, would be of little use to him, having neither money nor interest in the country, offered the nabobship of Arcot to the governor of Vellore, Mootis Alli Cawn, a man of great opulence, every way fit for his purpose. Under divers pretences he

got from him at different times; three lack of rupees; but the titular prince finding he was only amused, and Dupleix disappointed in his further expectations of the governor's liberality, abandoned him to the reflections of his folly and credulity.

The governor of Madraſs having reſolved to attack Gingee, which conſiſts of two towns divided by a wall lined with canon, and defended by five ſtrong forts, built on fire mountains of ragged rock, well ſupplied with all manner of ſtores, and garrifoned by 150 Europeans, beſides ſeapoys and black people in great numbers; colonel Lawrence, who was ſtill very ill of a fever, ſet out from St. David's for Madraſs, to ſee the governor, and try if he could diſſuade him from this raſh attempt, with a force inadequate to the ſituation and the ſtrength of the place; eſpecially as the Engliſh had an enemy at their back, with a force ſufficient at leaſt to ſtop their convoys; adding that the leaſt check would make an unfavourable impreſſion on the minds of their fluctuating and unſettled allies, and that the Nabob's affairs required, firſt the aſſiſtance of the company's forces in recovering places, where they were ſure of ſucceſs. The governor inſtead of yielding to colonel Lawrence's ſuperior prudence and judgment, perſiſted in his reſolution, merely becauſe he had ordered a party for that enterprize.

Major Kinneer was ſent with a detachment from the army at Trivedy, of 200 Europeans; the Nabob alſo ſent his troops, above 600 horſe and 1500 ſeapoys. They arrived before the place the 24th of July; a ſummons was ſent, which the

French answered very civilly by saying, they left it for the King of France, and was resolved to defend it. Soon after intelligence was brought that a party marched from Pondicherry, consisting of 200 Europeans and 1500 seapoys. Major Kinneer judged it was more prudent to leave Gingee, as he had no prospect of success against the place, and to meet the French to keep his communication open. The French were posted advantageously with seven pieces of cannon well disposed in their front. The English attacked them with great intrepidity, but were warmly received, and galled by a shower from behind the walls.

Major Kinneer endeavouring to rectify the blunder of an unskilful Frenchman, who commanded the artillery and had been taken into the English service was wounded in the leg and many of the men and officers killed, which obliged him in the end to retire, but in very good order. This ended the expedition against Gingee, and Major Kinneer was scarce recovered of his wound, that his spirit sunk under this disappointment, and was carried off some time after by a fever and flux.

The French elevated as usual by the least success, joined the party with all the force they could bring into the field. They marched close to the bounds of Fort St. David. Colonel Lawrence was still at Madras, but having received an account of their motion, he sent orders to the troops in St. David's, to march out and encamp. Captain Shaub's company of Swiss was also sent by sea from Madras. The party went in boats, though Colonel Lawrence had desired they might be sent

a ship which was in the road, as well for the safety as for the ease of the troops.

Mr. Dupleix on notice of the embarkation, sent ship out of Pondicherry road, and took captain Schaub and his whole company, carried them to Pondicherry, where they were detained prisoners of war. An action against the law of nations, and an open violation of the peace then subsisting between us and the French, though we were allies in different causes. Colonel Lawrence who still continued ill, on this intelligence immediately embarked with captain Gaupp's Swiss company, on board the Bombay's castle, the ship he had asked for the other party. He arrived at St. David's the 16th of August, and took the field the next day with 400 Europeans, 1700 seapoys, 4000 of the Nabob's troops, and nine pieces of cannon. He found the enemy encamped within sight of him, and after reconnoitring their situation, the colonel resolved to attack them the next morning, but they marched off that night to Bahoor. Colonel Lawrence followed them the next day and they still retreated, till they came within three miles of Pondicherry.

Mr. de Kerjean, a nephew of Mr. Dupleix, commanded his army. By his uncle's command, he protested in a long letter against our hostile invasion, forbidding us to follow the prince of the country in his own territories. The absurdity of these protests, to which the English had too long paid some regard was glaring, since Mr. Dupleix had thrown off the mask, by taking captain Schaub and his party prisoners.

Colonel Lawrence was encamped at a Pagoda, from whence he had a view of their camp, consisting of 400 Europeans, 1500 seapoys and 500 cavalry. In hopes to bring them to an engagement, he attacked their advanced post at Villenour, which being unsupported was driven into their bounds, where colonel Lawrence's orders did not permit to follow them.

Finding it impossible to bring on an engagement, he marched back and encamped at Bahoor, two miles from Fort St. David, to try if his retreat would encourage de Kerjean to follow him. As no people are more elated with the least dawn of an inviting opportunity than the French, when they have at their head a man without solidity, experience and judgment, the colonel hoped his feigned retreat might answer his expectation effectively. Mr. Dupleix ordered de Kerjean to follow the English army, conjuring him to improve the favourable minute, and to avail himself of their fears. In vain de Kerjean represented his conjectures on the motions of the enemy; though he guessed the truth, he received a peremptory command to march immediately in pursuit of the English army, Mr. Dupleix assuring him, that he was convinced they would not fight. He expected the Prince every hour with Mr. de la Touche, who was on his arrival to supersede him. The Prince was a large French company's ship, with 700 men and presents from the king of France for the Mogul, Salabatzing and Chundesaib. She was burnt in her passage to India, and scarce a man saved.

De Kerjean obliged to obey, encamped next day within two miles of the English, and colonel Lawrence

Lawrence made a disposition for attacking him the next morning.

Colonel Lawrence ordered his little army to be under arms at two in the morning; they marched in great order and came up in arms to begin the attack at break of day. They saw the French battalion drawn out upon their left. The English army then advanced, while they continued all the time a very brisk fire from their cannon. The small arms soon began, the English advanced firing, and the French stood their grounds till our bayonets met. The violence of the attack from the English grenadiers and two platoons, threw the enemy into disorder, and soon after their whole line was broke. They then threw down their arms, and ran in the utmost confusion. The Nabob's cavalry instead of pursuing the fugitives, were employed in plundering the camp, which gave time to many of the French to retreat to Arcocopony. The action however reflected equal honour upon the conduct and bravery of the English commander and his troops. Mr. Kerjern, fifteen officers, and 100 private men were made prisoners, many more were wounded or fell in the engagement. Their artillery consisting of eight pieces of cannon, with all their ammunition, tumbrils and stores were taken by the conquerors who had an officer killed, four wounded, and seventy eight men killed or wounded. The Nabob highly delighted at this victory, though displeased at the behaviour of his own people, returned with colonel Lawrence to St David's, and his troops were cantoned at Trivedy, during the monsoon, a season
of

of heavy rains and storm which begins in September, and generally continue to December.

The war continued till October 1752, when Gauzedy Cawn the elder brother of Salabatzing, whom the Mogul had appointed prince of the Deckan, marched to take possession of his government, but he died in fourteen days after his arrival at Aurengabad, poisoned by his own sister. After his death, the Mogul appointed his son Shaw Abadin Cawn to succeed. He accordingly informed the Nabob, Mr. Saunders and Mr. Dupleix of the Mogul's appointment, and raised a large army to come and take possession; but he was soon obliged to drop that design, the Mogul's affairs requiring his presence with the army at Delly. Salabatzing now left at large at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Dupleix, gave all our settlements to the northward to the French, who however for the present, did not attempt to take possession except of Divi island. Mr. Bussy frequently quarrelled with Salabatzing, and as often assisted him again with his Europeans in collecting his revenues, by which conduct he sometimes promoted the interest of the French company, always his own, and thereby became one of the richest subjects in Europe. Colonel Lawrence having received intelligence that the French were marched from Morarow, set out from Fort St. David the sixth of January 1753, and joined the Nabob and the English forces at Trivedy: his army consisted of about 700 Europeans, 2000 seapoys and 100 of the Nabob's cavalry. He had neither money nor allies, except the King of Tanjore who promised very fairly, but never sent any assistance. The French

French consisting of 500 Europeans, 2000 seapoys, a troop of horse, commanded by Mr. Maissin, and 4000 morattas, intrenched themselves on the banks of the river Paniar in sight of Trivedy.

On the first of April, colonel Lawrence crossed with the main body of Europeans, a hollow way the French had within their front, and which they imagined the English could not attempt to pass. They were amazed at this act of intrepidity, and having given only one fire to the English who marched on briskly, they ran away. They were too well satisfied with this advantage to pursue, as they had a convoy to take care of: the men besides were almost exhausted with fatigue, having been under arms from three o'clock in the morning; and the day was so excessively hot, that some of the Europeans dropt down dead on the march, for want of water.

Colonel Lawrence was the same day joined in his march by captain Polier and his company of Swiss. With this reinforcement he tried, if possible, to attack the enemy, who could not be brought out of their intrenchments to an engagement. In consequence of this resolution he made a march nearer them. The grenadiers attacked an advanced party, and drove the enemy to their main body: their camp was surrounded with a parapet cannon proof, and with redoubts at proper distances, mounted with 30 pieces of cannon, and a very broad ditch, with a glacis. The English cannonaded their camp for some time, but to no purpose: colonel Lawrence finding he could not bring them to an engagement, and that an assault was impracticable, the number of their Europeans being

ing almost equal to his little army, he returned to Trivedy, and captain Kilpatrick marched with a detachment to re-take Bonnagery, which the enemy abandoned in the night. Captain Dalton ever since the loss of his party, had been shut up in the fort of Trichinopoly, and the cavalry of the enemy, scouring the plain, prevented any provisions from coming in. He dispatched a messenger to colonel Lawrence to acquaint him with the distressed situation of his garrison. Upon this intelligence, the colonel having left captain Chase with 150 Europeans, and 500 seapoys for the defence of Trivedy: He marched immediately to Trichinopoly, through the Tanjore country. On his entering the province, the king sent his prime minister Succogee, to compliment the Nabob and his allies. On their arrival at Condore the 3d of May, the king desired to meet the Nabob and colonel Lawrence half way. They set out with Mr. Palk. The king met them at the place appointed, attended by his whole court, who on the occasion made a very magnificent and splendid appearance. He was escorted by 3000 horse, well mounted, and many elephants in silver trappings. After ceremoniously passing each other in their palankeens, the Nabob and his allies were conducted to a pleasant garden, and there received by the king, under a pavillion supported by pillars of silver, elegantly covered and furnished. There the Nabob and colonel Lawrence renewed their assurances of friendship and protection, and all their former engagements. It was determined that the king should support the Nabob, and join him the next day with 3000 horse and a like number of seapoys. After a refreshment

freshment of fruits, &c. they were dismissed with presents of elephants, horses, and serpals, a rich dress of that country, and escorted to their camp by a brilliant party of the Rajah's cavalry.

As the forces of Trichinopoly were of the utmost consequence to the English interest, colonel Lawrence remained with his troops in or near the place above a year, without being able to get three months provisions into the fort.

The garrison of Trivedy having made a sally upon the French who were encamped near the fort, a whole party, which consisted of two officers, 60 Europeans and two companies of seapoys, was either put to the sword, or made prisoners of war.

The French now erected a battery, and began to cannonade the place. The garrison was still sufficient to make a good defence, had not a mutiny arisen, in which the men got possession of the arrack in the garrison, and, mad with liquor, obliged captain Chase the commanding officer, to capitulate; by which means he and all the rest of the garrison were made prisoners of war. This gallant young man, whose lenity had been attended with such disgraceful consequences, was so sensibly affected by his misfortune, that it threw him into a fever, of which he died soon after at Pondicherry.

Ballape a nephew of Morratow, general of the Morates, having been killed in a skirmish, colonel Lawrence who had known this young man, when he was on our side, sent his body which was found in the fields, in his palenkeen to his friends; he thought this respect justly due to so gallant an officer, a

youth of great spirit and courage, and an excellent-horfe-man. *Morrarow* returned his thanks to the colonel for this fingular favour of a generous enemy.

Colonel Lawrence having a large convoy under his care, and reached a place called the Golden Rock, determined to attack the enemy, who were fuperior in battalions, and if poffible to drive them out of the field, to finish his march. The firft party of the enemy had halted between the two rocks, and was at a great diftance from the main body.

So favourable an opportunity was not to be loft. He ordered immediately the picquet, grenadiers, and four platoons to attack them. The officer who was ordered for the attack, inftead of following his orders, fent the colonel word he could not execute them without cannon, and halted, waiting for it. On this meffage colonel Lawrence left the main body of his army, and galloped to the head of the party. Captain Kirk at the head of the grenadiers, captain Killpatrick with the picquet, and the colonel at the head of four platoons, marched on, the line keeping in admirable order, in fpite of a very fmart fire from the enemy's artillery, by which fome men were killed, and in particular captain Kirk at the head of his favourite grenadiers. Thefe brave fellows, by whom he was much beloved, could not fee his death without emotion. Captain Killpatrick, who faw himfelf and his men at a ftand, immediately put himfelf at their head and defired them, if they loved their captain to follow him, and revenge his death. This animating fpeech had its defired effect, as they

knew

knew the spirit and courage of their new leader. The grenadiers rose in an instant, and attacked the enemy with such fury, that they were unable to stand the shock. The main body of the English army marched to improve this advantage, and pursued the blow. The enemy moved to the assistance of their party, but it was too late. The briskness of the attack gave no time for rallying, but on the contrary the panic spreading through the whole, the French battalion ran off in great confusion as far as a place called the Five Rocks; they were severely cannonaded in their retreat, and had the Tanjore cavalry done their duty, few could have escaped. The English had no more than forty men killed and wounded; the enemy above an hundred.

We cannot help mentioning in this affair a particular instance of French imposture and effrontery. The oys with colonel Lawrence's pallenkeen having straggled a little out of the line of march, were picked up by the Morattas. It was the same in which he had sent the body of Morrarow's nephew, therefore the colonel desired the Moratta chief to return it, offering to pay the price to the horseman who had taken it; but the French had got it out of their hands and would not suffer them to send it back, but carried it to Pondicherry, where, by Mr. Dupleix's order, it was carried about the town in triumph. At the same time it was reported that colonel Lawrence was killed, and that the English had lost the victory, of which the pallenkeen was a trophy.

The sickness that prevailed in the English army on account of the brackish water they had been forced to drink, induced colonel Law-

fence to move his camp to the French rock the first of September. He was joined by a reinforcement of 150 men and officers from Europe, commanded by captain Ridge, and 300 seapoys. This determined the colonel to attack the enemy, as the English army had not above three days provisions, and no convoys could come without the risk of an engagement. He thought it therefore more advisable to attack them, while he could be master of his disposition. The enemy had thrown up entrenchments on their front and rear. The English battalion of 600 rank and file was ordered into three divisions; to march in the rear of each other, just at a proper distance to form the line when necessary. They marched September the 21st, at four in the morning. Their front division, according to custom composed of the grenadiers, picquet and two platoons, were ordered to begin the attack. The enemy was so much surprised, that they even forgot to fire two pieces of cannon which they had loaded with grape; and their infantry, so great was their confusion, fired without any order. The English got possession of an advantageous port called the Golden Rock in an instant. After dismounting two pieces of cannon of the enemy, their front division being again formed, they marched on for the French battalion. According to the colonel's expectation, the beaten party carried the alarm to the black troops in the camp of the enemy, who in crowds ran for safety towards the French, and increased their disorder. Having passed the black camp without molestation, they were with the French in less than half an hour. The day began to dawn. Their cannon fired very briskly

ly as the English approached; but they forgot in the hurry to point them, so little damage did they receive. The English formed their line as they marched, and attacked as they formed. Their right soon drove the left of the enemy, and the center of their line was soon afterwards put into disorder; they attempted to rally and make a stand again, near a little breast work, but were soon obliged to abandon it, leaving behind them their camp standing and all their artillery.

Mr. Astruc their commandant, and some officers were made prisoners. The English lost in this action about 70 men, and the French had near 200 killed, wounded and taken prisoners. Colonel Lawrence received a slight wound in his arm, and captain Killpatrick, a shot through his body; concluding it must be mortal, this gallant and magnanimous officer, would not permit any of his men to stop by him, but sent them on to join the victorious battalions in pursuit of the enemy. Some straggling Moratta horse came up in the mean time, and according to their barbarous custom, cut him with their sabres as they passed, which would have been repeated by others, had not the surgeon, who by accident saw him in that danger, staid and protected him till the success of the day cleared the field of the enemy; the English became after this action masters of the plain, and had a free communication with Turchinopoly. The Tanjore cavalry, instead of pursuing the enemy, were busy in plundering their camp.

The enemy had left a party at Weyaconda; which being attacked, the breach was scarce practicable, when the English seapoys perceiving the enemy steal off by another gate, clambered up as well as they could, and cut to pieces the garrison, consisting of 200 black infantry.

The monsoon season coming on, the Nabob and colonel Lawrence fixed upon Kaileddy, which commands the pass on Seringham island for the winter cantonment of the troops. There they left six officers and a great many soldiers by sickness. The Nabob continued with colonel Lawrence, who wrote to the Precedency to send Mr. Palk to Tanjore, to keep that court in the English interest. He was a gentleman qualified in every respect for this commission, and had been employed there with success. Zuccajee, the King's prime minister, was in the interest of the enemy; he had been brought over to the French cause by a large bribe, and by his intrigues removed Monagee, the general of the army, from his master's favour. Dupleix, who styled himself Nabob-governor, threatened also to bring down Sabatzing against us.

The French, who had received some reinforcements from Pondicherry; attempted to surprise Tirchinopoli. They crossed the river Cauvery, under the command of Mr. Maissin; their forces were distributed according to the several false attacks they were to make upon the place. The real one was to be made by the French battalion. They had 800 men, 600 were to escalade, and Mr. Maissin with 200 more and a body of seapoys, to wait the event, prepared to join

join and lecond the first party when they had got over the wall. They placed their ladders, and mounted to the number of 600 on Dalton's battery, without interruption, or the least alarm in the garrison.

The guard appointed for the batteries was 50 seapoys with their officers and two European gunners. The rounds had gone at twelve o'clock, and found them present and alert. However, when the French came, they were mostly absent or with the two European gunners asleep. The French, persuaded that firing alone would frighten the garrison, turned two twelve pounders on the battery, against the town and discharged them, with a volley of small arms; their drums beating and the soldiers crying out, *Vive le Roi*. Captain Killpatrick was then ill of his wounds. The next officer in command came to him for his orders; he bid him march instantly with the picquet reserve, and the seapoys, who were not posted, to the place where the attack was made, and to order every man to his respective alarm post, and not to stir from thence on pain of death. The French after their discharge, came down from the battery; and were between two walls. There was a slight gate in the inner wall, which led into the town. The man who was their guide, knew where it was; they had two petards ready to clap to it; and at the same time to amuse the garrison; another party was to esclade the inner wall. The scheme was laid, and had not the French petulance discovered their design, they might have entered the town. Though the commanding officer could not discover the situation of
the

the enemy; yet he did not forget the gate, on the flanks of which he posted a number of men, with plenty of ammunition to fire from thence incessantly, whether they heard or saw any detachment of the enemy or not: and it was luckily he did, for the guide and petardier were found killed within ten yards of the gate, with two petards. The escaladers had so far succeeded as to fix ladders against the inner wall, and began to mount. The commanding officer of this party, preceded by his drummer, were the first who attempted to enter; the latter lost his life, and the officer receiving a shot at the same time, was pulled within the town. The frequent flashes of fire, occasioned by the briskness of the attack and defence, were the only guide our artillery officer had to direct the pointing of his guns; he loaded them with grape, and succeeded so well, as to shatter the ladders, kill a number of men, and entirely disappoint their well concerted scheme. They now only thought of making their escape, or securing themselves from the fire. The first was impracticable, their ladders being mostly destroyed, and they within the first wall: some attempted leaping off the battery into the ditch, but the greater number lay hid under the parapet. The long wished for day at last came, and discovered where the enemy were. They begged for quarter, which was granted them. They lost in that affair 364 Europeans taken prisoners, 65 of whom were wounded, including eight officers, besides 40 private and some officers killed; many more were carried off wounded, or lamed.

Colonel Lawrence sent the next day a re-inforcement to captain Killpatrick, as the number of his prisoners was much greater than his European garrison; and the enemy threatened the place with another general assault. As a specimen of Mr. Dupleix *modesty and veracity*, speaking of this miscarriage in his letters, he says, *il fallut donc se retirer et même avec perte.*

Thus ended the campaign of 1753, in which colonel Lawrence shewed great skill and judgment; he did all that could be done against so great a superiority of the enemy.

Mr. Bussy with his army was still attending and supporting Salabatzing to the northward. Shaw Abadin Cawn, who had been appointed by the Mogul, prince of the Deckan, had too much employment on his hands as chief treasurer of the empire, to think at that time of making good his pretensions.

During these transactions, the two governors Saunders and Dupleix had opened a negotiation. After many altercations, it was agreed between them, to hold a congress at Sadras, a Dutch settlement. Accordingly commissaries were appointed. Those on our side were Mr. Palk and Mr. Vansittart. On theirs father Lavour, superior general of the jesuits in India, and Messieurs de Kerjean and de Bauffet, who assembled at Madras, January 1754.

The marquis Dupleix, who had been associated by Salabatzing in the government of the Deckan, was detected of imposture and forgery. The grants he pretended to have received from the Mogul, appointing him governor from the river

made prisoners, 100 of which were wounded. Of the eight officers four were killed, and three wounded, four pieces of cannon and about 7000l. in money, with a large convoy of provisions fell into the hands of the enemy. The French and their allies consisted of about 10,000 men, and several pieces of cannon. This was a most heavy stroke, few men escaped, except those whom the French troops saved, and even those bore the marks of their defeat.

The command of the English, seapoys was given to a Moor called Nelloure Subadan, he first raised a company of them in our service. No man was better qualified in every respect for the polite *quarre*, being an excellent partizan, well acquainted with the country, with a courage and resolution always guided by prudence and judgment.

Colonel Lawrence reposed a great confidence in his skill and activity, as he was indefatigable in the field, and had the most early intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

At that time the linguist of the English army, who of course was acquainted with all their designs and motions, discovered to Nandereuze all he knew of their affairs. It was a most intricate piece of villainy, and it had been traced with incredible difficulties, as he was a most artful and plausible scoundrel, whose schemes were almost impenetrable. When the fact was proved against him he was blown away from the mouth of a cannon, the common punishment of traitors.

Colonel Lawrence being much indisposed, the command devolved according to seniority to captain Polier, a Swiss officer, brave and enterprising; but he wanted steadiness and conduct. A party commanded by captain Caillaud, who had an excellent head to plan, and an unshaken resolution to execute, had been sent by colonel Lawrence to take post in the plain, and wait for a convoy of provisions from Tordeman's country. Having received intelligence that the enemy were on the road, and had posted themselves where he was to wait for provisions, he resolved with the commander of the seapoys, to attack them immediately on their flank. They quickly drove the enemy, and obliged them to leave a tumbrel of ammunition behind, and some of their men. The English got another advantage over the enemy; they had two pieces of cannon in the front of the battalion opposite to the French; never were two pieces better served when they were near enough, every shot took place in the French battalion. The enemy were so much galled by the briskness of this cannonade, that they gave way in spite of all the efforts of their officers to keep them up. The small arms completed what the cannon had begun, and left the English at liberty to return to their camp. Captain Polier received two wounds, and was obliged to give up the command to the next officer. Captain Caillaud, brought the party home with the two dismounted pieces of cannon. The English had in these two actions, six officers wounded, 96 private men, and about 200 seapoys killed and wounded. The enemy's loss was much more considerable.

Colonel Lawrence was hardly recovered before he took the field ; he marched towards Tanjore, in hopes that his presence with an army, would forward the success of Mr. Palk's negotiations. The French finding the King of Tanjore would not declare fell furiously upon the frontiers of his country, and cut in different places the bank which carry the water into his dominions. On this intelligence, colonel Lawrence marched immediately to Tanjore, dividing his force, and leaving a considerable garrison with captain Killpatrick at Trichinopoly.

On the colonel's first day's march, he had a letter from the king, pressing him to come, and wishing him joy on the late victory.

When colonel Lawrence came in sight of Tanjore, the King came out of his fort to meet him ; but the colonel was so ill, that he was obliged to send captain Caillaud, to make his apology. The next grand point for the English interest, was the removal of Succagee, their inveterate enemy, and to have Monagee restored to favour and power. The colonel knew his merit as a soldier, and his invariable attachment to the English, which he always thought his master's advantage and policy to support. The circumstances were favourable and captain Palk with captain Caillaud, managed so successfully, that they convinced the King, all his misfortunes originated in his perfidious minister's counsels, and that the enemy had not laid waste his country had he fulfilled his engagements with the Nabob and the English. They boldly declared to the prince, that unless Succagee was removed from his person and counsels, and Monagee

pagee returned to his former rank, they would not repose any confidence, nor expect any benefit from his alliance. Though the King was unwilling to part from his favourite; when he saw that our friendship depended on this sacrifice, Succagee was removed, and Monagee invested with the sole direction of public affairs, and appointed once more commander in chief of all his forces. Every thing wore a promising aspect, from so lucky change in our favour.

Governor Bouchier, who was always inclined to give the army any assistance in his power, wrote to colonel Lawrence from Madras, that the presidency of Bombay, had sent a detachment at his request; another detachment came from Dava-caiah, commanded by captain Zergler, consisting of 80 Europeans, and 400 seapoys. As the health of colonel Lawrence was much impaired by the vicissitudes of the climate, and fifteen campaigns in which his military talents as a subaltern and commander had been conspicuous, the governor and council, at his request, sent captain Killpatrick, a major's commission, and consented to his succeeding to the command, in case colonel Lawrence should resign it.

About this time, the French ships brought Mr. Godchur, commissary and governor general of all their settlements, with 1500 Europeans. Upon his arrival he wrote to Mr. Saunders, to acquaint him with his inclination to pursue pacific measures, in consequence of which he sent back the troops, which Mr. Dupleix had caused to be stopped in their passage, from Madras to Fort St. David. The governor and council pleased to find, they had

had now to deal with a person, who appeared to concur with them, in pursuing the true interests of the two commercial companies, were not long in sending their answer to hasten the conclusion of an event so much to be wished. A suspension of arms was agreed on, and actually took place on the 11th of October 1754. The suspension of arms was accompanied with another event of great importance to the tranquility of India; the departure of Mr. Dupleix, who being removed from the government, returned with the next ships to France. When colonel Lawrence reviewed the army, before he left the command, it consisted of 1200 men in battalion, 3000 seapoys and 14 pieces of cannon.

The Nabob being arrived within a mile of Arcot, the 19th of August 1755, resolved to wait for a lucky day to make his entry into the city. Here he was met by colonel Lawrence, Mr. Palk, and Mr. Walsh, deputed to invite him to Madras. He readily consented. On the 21st he made his entry into Arcot, in a very splendid manner, and the 30th he visited Madras, and was received at the company's India-house by the governor, the admirals Watson and Pocock, and most of the gentlemen of the place.

Colonel Lawrence appeared again in the field in the year 1757. He shewed on every occasion the most earnest disposition to contribute in any shape to the advancement of all military operations, and offered to join the army as a volunteer when it was imagined Trichinopoly would have been the scene of action; his intention was to proceed with the troops from Fort St. David; for the defence of that place

place. Afterwards when the French army returned from Trichinopoly and were collected at Wandewash, he offered to embark with all the men that could be spared from Fort St. David, and to land at Sadras, in order to join the army in the most expeditious manner. Being sensible how much his abilities and experience would contribute to the regulation and good conduct of the army; and judging Fort St. David to be free from all danger, as the whole French force was on the other side. The presidency approved of this proposal, and colonel Lawrence landed accidentally near Sadras with about one hundred men; the 22d of June, three days after the march of the army, which he joined on the other side of Changelaput; nothing material happened in this campaign, that could add lustre to his reputation. In December 1758, having received intelligence of a great augmentation of the enemy's force at Wandelour; the colonel sent his aid de camp to Fort St. George, to desire that he might be reinforced with as many men as possible; accordingly a party was ordered and marched immediately. Colonel Lawrence having received a letter from the governor, in which he desired him not to hazard an action, unless upon terms of the highest advantage, as the utmost caution was necessary at this important crisis, and ordered three companies of infantry to march to the little mount with the two twelve pounders, as to re-inforce the party cantoned there, but the same time, they were directed to march to Madras, a precaution necessary, considering the weak state of the garrison and the motion of the enemy.

Colonel Draper and the best officers paid always the utmost deference to colonel Lawrence's superior authority and great judgment. General Lally having been forced to raise the siege of Madras the 17th of February 1759, to which the military knowledge, experience and activity of colonel Lawrence had effectually contributed; he left marks of his disappointed rage unworthy of a soldier. Among the rest of his devastations, he ordered, three barrels of gunpowder to be lodged in colonel Lawrence's country-house and blew it up. The colonel who had still the chief command of the army, being desirous of bringing on an action with the French general marched towards Conjeveram, where he had fortified himself against a sudden attack. The colonel moved round it, exposing his flank; but as he found nothing could provoke the enemy to stir, and being in a very bad state of health, he prudently resolved to quit the command rather than subject himself to fatigues which he could not bear, without a prospect of performing the service he intended to accomplish; he therefore returned to England, leaving the command to major Brereton, a gallant officer and next in rank to colonel Draper, whose ill state of health obliged him likewise to leave a climate which had proved so prejudicial to him.

No commanding officer in India did more real services to the company, was more active in the field, more careful of the life and welfare of the soldier, more affable to the inferior officers, and at the same time more exact in the military discipline. Ever since this excellent officer retired, his unspotted honour, his disinterestedness, his mode-

ration, his justice, during twenty years of toils and fatigues in Indostan, made him beloved, esteemed and revered by the army, the presidencies and the natives. He died lately, at the age of seventy-eight, in peace with his conscience, full of years, and leaving a name equally respected in Europe and on the Ganges.

Lord Clive did not arrive at Calcutta till May 3, 1765. Jaffer Alli Cawn, who after having been deposed in November 1760, was in July 1763, again raised to the Suabah ship, died at Calcutta, where he was waiting for lord Clive in February 1765, and was succeeded as Subah by his son.

All the eyes of the East-India proprietors and of the princes of Indostan were turned on his lordship, having been pointed out by his friends and connections as the only man who could again retrieve the affairs at Bengal, which had been represented as desperate by that party. On his arrival at Bengal he directly joined the army at Eliabad. Of all men, lord Clive should have been the last to begin his system of reformation, by reducing the pay of the military officers in the East-India company's service, as he owed himself all his importance the immense fortune he had squandered, and his jaghire to the great indulgence of the company, in permitting him to enjoy such unprecedented advantages, in consequence of his magnified services as a soldier. The select committee of which the noble lord was president, consisted of William Sumner, John Carnac, Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, esquires, all unanimous in supporting the new measures and regulations, of the commander in chief.

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The resignations of most of the officers in Bengal made then a great noise in England and the Peninsula, and their conduct was misrepresented as mutiny and an unlawful association. Every unprejudiced and impartial man must condemn the impolitic conduct of the select committee, in driving to despair a great number of respectable and useful officers, by taking off the *batta*, and depriving them of every advantage which can make the life of a soldier tolerable in that country. The *batta*, is an extraordinary allowance, paid the military, when on actual service in the field. What made the measure appear more odious was, that this economical reduction was enforced by men who had felt themselves the hardships of a subordinate station in the company's service, now regardless of the distresses of the army, to which they owed their very existence, their fortune and their elevation. The object of the select committee could not be to retrench the unnecessary expences of the company, as the emoluments of the reformers were increased every day by new monopolies, and the company's treasure was lavished in articles of convenience and luxury for the members of the council.

When the first orders for reducing the *batta* of the officers were issued from the select committee, they filled the heart of every officer with surprize and indignation, especially at the conclusion of the hard campaign of 1765, at an immense distance from their settlements, and an unprecedented expence by any *English army in Bengal*; for the officers were obliged to have their baggage transported upon men's heads over an extent of up-

wards of 800 miles, at the rate of 5l. per month for every couley or porter employed. This heavy charge had embarrassed the circumstances of every officer who had no other resources but his pay, and nine out of ten were in debt, when the army went into winter quarters.

Never was a more improper period than this for such an injudicious reduction, when the officers after a tedious and expensive campaign undergone in the hot season of a torrid climate, saw themselves not only precluded from all share in the rich fruits of their essential services, but even curtailed in their old established advantages.

When these orders reached the different brigades, all the officers unanimously agreed to ward off their impending distress by spirited and respectful remonstrances to the president and council of Calcutta.

The officers of general Carnac's brigade, under the command of Sir Robert Fletcher stationed at Mongheer, had been in all the service of the year 1765. In the first transports of their rage, they proposed to abandon the service of their ungrateful masters who seemed resolved to make them pine away upon a wretched pittance of rice and water; but this was over-ruled, and a motion made for addressing the governor and council, in a becoming memorial, setting forth the distresses in which the new regulations would inevitably plunge the officers and praying for a suspension, at least of the order, till the affair could be represented to the company at home. This after some debate was agreed to, and the following paper was drawn up and forwarded

warded to general Carnac, to be by him delivered to the board.

To the Right Honourable the President and
Council

Gentlemen,

“ It is with the greatest respect we now presume to lay before your board, the hardships we labour under since the reduction of our former allowance, and we flatter ourselves, that what we shall now offer, will appear reasonable, and induce the board to comply with this our request

“ We beg leave to represent, we find the quarter batta inadequate to the unavoidable expence attending the character of an officer. The extraordinary batta allowed on this establishment, in preference to the other establishments, only puts us on the same footing with them, yet it is well known, that European commodities, which we most want, are sold forty or fifty per cent. dearer here than at either of the settlements of Maorass or Bombay, and the difference is nearly the same between this place and the presidency, as likewise servants wages and most other necessaries bear the same proportion, so that we hope, setting forth the present allowance not to be proper subsistence, will not appear an unjust representation, but a notice sufficient for a repeal of the order of the first of January

“ Were we to enumerate the severe hardships we endured the last campaign, we flatter ourselves
men-

mentioning that alone, and the irreparable hurt our constitution have suffered from a climate so prejudicial to every European, would have some weight, should we request the former allowance, on the same footing as an indulgence; but we hope the above short representation of facts will suffice, leaving to your own known candour and impartiality to suggest, what else we might advance to induce you to a compliance with this our most respectful request.

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves with the greatest respect, &c."

The general in his answer reprimanded severely the officers for applying to him, and the board did not deign to take notice of their memorial. This illiberal treatment inflamed their resentment, and about the middle of April 1766, they came to a sudden resolution to gain their point, or to resign their commissions, on the first day of May next; but in such a manner, as to give as little cause for complaint against them, or for disturbance amongst the men as possible; they even offered to serve as volunteers, untill other officers could be collected to take charge of the troops.

This oppressive and tyrannical behaviour to the officers was still aggravated, by every act of sophistry, to exhibit the injured in the odious light of criminal insurgents. The vile abettors of the measure, published with equal impudence and falsity, that the motive of the resignation was to unhinge government and send the select committee prisoners to England. Such insinuations could only

only proceed from their apprehensions, and the consciousness of their injustice. Had the officers ever entered into such a conspiracy against the president and council of Bengal, they had no occasion to petition for redress, as they could have soon righted themselves, with the soldiery at their command.

The serjeants and common men had divers meetings, and engaged to stand by their officers to a man, and not to serve any other after their resignation. The moment this was known, every officer thought his honour concerned in discountenancing any step leading to alienate the duty of the soldier, though their discontent proceeded from the wrongs done to their commanders.

Sir Robert Fletcher can bear witness of this from their behaviour to him and the company ; indeed, so very cautious were they of giving their natural enemy, any room to asperse their characters, that captain Wilding and lieutenant Petrie, with the knowledge and, by the desire of the other officers, waited upon the commanding officer, and acquainted him with the disposition of the brigade, assuring him they were ready to sacrifice their lives in support of the authority of the company over their troops and possessions. And when it was found expedient to divide the brigade, to prevent more effectually any evil consequence from the resignation, the officers actually marched out with the men at their expence and in danger of an insurrection, and encamped at some distance from the fort, till they were ordered to quit the country ; they

obeyed

obeyed readily, as they had done on any former order under very different circumstances.

From all these facts, it is evident, that the bloody intentions of the officers, had no existence but in the brain of their oppressors. Tyranny commonly throws a veil over its wicked acts, by colouring oppression with the pretence of necessary severity.

On the first of May, the following letter signed by every officer in the garrison, the brigade major excepted, was sent to the commanding officer with every gentleman's commission.

To Lieutenant Sir Robert Fletcher, commanding
the first brigade at Mongheer.

S I R,

“ That we might put it entirely out of the power of either the world or our own conscience to condemn us for desiring leave to resign our commissions in the honourable company's service, we have served four months in, obedience to the orders of the 31st of December, and are now but too well convinced that our former suspicions were true; for notwithstanding the proposed reduction of servants wages, and diminishing every unnecessary attendant, we find we cannot live upon the present allowance, but must run in debt every month, as long as we have any credit. We must appear upon the parade, as become officers and keep up our respective ranks or disobey public orders. We must eat and drink as befits the climate, or fall a sacrifice to hunger

hunger and sickness; and to do all these only in moderation, we must run ourselves in debt to every one who will give us credit, be they gentlemen or the lowest of the creation; and so fall under the lash of another article of war, for behaving unlike gentlemen. You know that we have applied for redress in the humblest manner, and that it has been refused us. It is needless for us here to call upon you for a witness of our attachment to the service; our behaviour through a series of campaigns must bear down all slander. Many of us have eat the company's bread for some years and are deeply concerned that we can no longer do it with honour; all of us are sorry to be obliged to take this method of preventing ruin and misery falling upon ourselves and connections, and we sincerely wish that our masters may meet with a set of officers as much devoted to their service as we have always wished to prove ourselves, and who may maintain the company's affairs, to the latest posterity, in that splendor to which we have happily raised them. But unless the pay and emoluments of their troops are again restored to what they were in July and August, 1763; our prayers are all we can now give them.

As it is from principle we now resign the service, it would give us the greatest uneasiness should the company's affairs suffer by so sudden a resignation; we have therefore resolved to serve till the 15th of this month of May, without pay of any kind, or being esteemed officers in their service; when an answer may be had from those gentlemen of the council, who we know have the power of redressing us, or of filling up our places with other officers,

provided, you desire it. It would make us truly unhappy should any disturbances arise amongst the men from this affair being known to them. We therefore beg you will take the necessary precautions of keeping all quiet; and as we are to receive no pay, you will be so good to give the pay-master directions for leaving the abstract for the non commissioned and private men.

Our commissions accompany this, which we beg you will keep, and believe us to be with respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient humble servants,
Mongheer, May 1st, 1766.

To which letter the commanding officer returned the following answer :

Mongheer, May 1st. 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your letter of this date, together with your commissions; and shall, agreeable to your request, take the most expeditious method of obtaining you an answer from our superiors. I agree with you, in thinking it better, that the soldiers remained ignorant of the measures you have taken; and I desire you will continue to do duty as officers, according to your former respective ranks, until we know the pleasure of the governor and council.

I am, with regard,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) ROBERT FLETCHER:

The same evening it was thought expedient for half of the troops to be marched out of the garrison, as if going upon an expedition, and to encamp at some distance from the Fort; in consequence of which every thing remained quiet till the 6th, when captain Welding and lieutenant Petrii were made prisoners, and sent down to Calcutta, by orders from Lord Clive, and their going to colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, was the assigned cause of this act of violence.

This is a striking instance of the despotic tyranny which Lord Clive exercised in his presidency. Those two gentlemen were punished, as if they had been guilty of the most enormous crimes, for having been too zealous in their duty, and too nice in their notions of honour: for they informed Sir Robert Fletcher of their suspicions of a meeting at the risk of their lives. Besides, they were liable to the penalty of the articles of war, till they had actually resigned the service, had they not revealed their apprehensions to the commanding officer. It was not without the most earnest solicitations, that these gentlemen prevented the whole brigade from accompanying them in a body to Calcutta, or rescuing them sword in hand from their confinement; as they thought this cruel and unprecedented treatment, an act of unwarrantable injustice and oppression; since every man has an undoubted right to resign that employ in which he is only a monthly servant, when he cannot subsist upon his allowance, without being subject to the miseries of a felon or deserter.

Soon after captain Willding and Mr. Petrie, had left Mongheer, the confidence between the officers and the colonel seemed to decrease gradually, till an order was issued for eight officers to leave the garrison instantly, and proceed to Calcutta. This was followed by a peremptory command to all the remaining officers to leave the district of Mongheer in one hour's time; otherwise they should be driven away by force, and esteemed enemies to their country.

Lord Clive was then on his way to Patna; this persecution is an indelible blot on his memory, and will stamp the names of those who were instruments of it with eternal infamy. To see gallant men who had spent their youth and their vigour in the military service of the company, and purchased honour with the loss of their limbs, and their constitutions visibly impaired in the unhealthy climate of Bengal, treated like the vilest malefactors, and dragged unmercifully with fixed bayonets to their breast, to a lawless court, forced to abandon their property to ravenous enemies, is a shocking instance of the most flagrant abuse of power. Some of these gentlemen, of families superior to any of the council, were carried without the walls of the fort in the depth of salivation; others had just taken emetics, the effect of which was prevented by this barbarity, and the lame were obliged to limp off on their crutches, to avoid the military instruments, of tyrannic power.

Such are the miseries which Englishmen are doomed to suffer when removed far from the influence of the happy constitution of their native

tive country; in a place where power gave law and force was substituted to right, and where no man was found brave enough to shake the rod of correction over the head of lawless authority.

Before the officers left the garrison the men got under arms, and seemed resolved to accompany their injured commanders; but seeing their officers discourage the attempt, in refusing to command them, they were soon dispersed to their quarters, by quieting them with money and intoxicating them with liquor.

Next day lord Clive arrived at Mongheer, and by flattering the common men, and illiberally endeavouring to make the unhappy sufferers contemptible, at the expence of every human virtue; forced them to dissemble their resentment by his profusion; having in a few days distributed to the seapoys and soldiers, larger sums of money than would have satisfied the poor distressed officers of the whole army for a year. This was one of the instances of his lordship's economy, but notwithstanding this apparent tranquility and submission, the company would have lost their best officers and men, had not the the insidious arts of Lord Clive's prevailed on the selfishness and pusillanimity of several officers, who had just left the service, to resume their commissions. Some of them had engaged to resign, with the treacherous intention, to rise on the ruin of their brother officers, whose unspotted honour scorned all the advantages which they might have reaped from the violation of it.

Others were seduced or intimidated ; so that in a short time the cause was deserted, and only the few who had courage to prefer independence to thralldom, and indigence, to ignominious promotions, remained sufferers on this occasion. Being either sent forcibly to England, or indulged by the little tyrants of Calcutta, to earn their subsistence in that nest of rapacious demagogues by means no ways suitable to their feelings and their education. Several meanly submitted to lose five or six years' dear bought rank, to serve again unjust and arbitrary masters. The absolute resignation of the officers who had spirit to resent lord Clive's arbitrary proceedings, and a manly steadiness in rejecting commissions, they could not re-assume without disgrace, was construed as an unlawful insurrection against government, by the very people who had dared to change the constitution of Bengal, originally mild and limited according to the English laws into despotism unparalleled even in the Turkish empire.

In the absence of lord Clive, Mr. Sumner reigned at Calcutta, he paid a servile and implicit obedience to the noble lord's mandates, when in second ; but he filled the chair in his absence, with the same overbearing haughtiness and uncontrouled authority. He had denounced vengeance against all the discontented, and he is reported to have said of the officers brought to Calcutta with infamy, " There are four of them coming down prisoners, I wish there were twenty-four, that I might have the pleasure of hanging them all."

When captain Wiltling and Mr. Petrie arrived at Calcutta, they waited upon this deputy-gover-

nor, to acquaint him of their having resigned their commissions and their intention of residing in that seat of insolence and cruelty. To which he answered, That having been put under arrest, by sir Robert Fletcher, they must remain so till lord Clive's pleasure was known. They strenuously protested against this act of violence and injustice, alledging, that as they held no military employment, they could in no degree be subject to military law. They withdrew after this declaration. The same evening the fort adjutant came to their lodgings, and told them he had the governor's orders to put them under an arrest; they refused to obey for the reasons mentioned above, desiring him to minute their answers in writing, and not trouble them for the future with such a message. He returned again the next morning and insisted on their obeying the arrest, as officers in the East-India company; and on their persisting in their first resolution he acquainted them, that he had orders of the governor and council to carry them forcibly from their lodgings and confine them in the new fort under a guard, and if they shut their doors, he had orders to place centinels before the door, and starve them into compliance; and for that purpose he had placed before the door a guard of thirty men. Mr. Gideon Johnstone in whose house this happened, over hearing the last part of the threat, acquainted the adjutant, that if he dared to enter his house, or to place centinels upon it, he would prosecute him and all concerned to the utmost rigour of the law; and at the same time leave to the mercy of the soldiers the property of

of many private merchants deposited into his house, to the amount of some lacks of rupees.

This spirited and legal warning, staggered his resolution, and he departed to acquaint the deputy-governor with the opposition he had met. He knew the firmness and resolution of Mr. Johnstone, especially on a legal resistance to military force; and having been deterred from making a forcible entry into a house of such consequence by the very charter, which Mr. John Holme the ductile lawyer of the council, had endeavoured in vain to explain in his favour: he suspended for a time the effects of his resentment; however, the gentlemen kept their doors barricaded, to prevent the adjutant from executing his violent menaces.

In this dilemma, they sent for an attorney of the mayor's court, to instruct them in the method of procuring their liberty, by an application to the civil power; but he told them candidly, that there was no such thing as law at Calcutta; nor could they hope for any redress in India; that his office obliged him to take a retaining fee from them, yet he would take it as a favour if they would not insist upon it, for his appearance in their cause might ruin him in the settlement; and then without leaving them time to reply, wished them good morning.

In this situation things remained till the quarter-sessions came on, when they determined to try their cause before the grand jury, not doubting to find shelter and protection under that palladium of English liberty. Accordingly on the first day of the sessions they sent the following letter to the foreman of the grand jury.

To James Lister, Esq, foreman, and the Members of the Grand Jury.

Gentlemen,

We hope you will excuse the liberty we now take in addressing you on a subject of the most interesting nature to ourselves, to you and to every free born Englishman, who lives under the protection of that blessed constitution, and that you will, as far as in your power, grant us that redress, which the extraordinary circumstances of our case require, which are as follow,

On the first of this month we resigned our commission in the honourable company's service, which were accepted of by the commanding officer at Mongheer, where we then were, nor have we received any pay since the 30th of April. Last night after we had been twenty days out of the service, the fort adjutant came to our lodgings, and said he had the acting governor's orders to put us on arrest, which we refused to obey, alledging we were not subject in any degree to military discipline, but were ready to answer any charge brought against us according to the laws of England. This morning he returned again, and in order to intimidate us into a submission to military law, said he had the orders of the government and council to carry us out of our lodgings with a military force if we did not instantly obey his arrest, and that if we shut our doors he would place the centinels upon them. We returned the same answer as before,

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and

and ever since have been in hourly expectation of seeing our lodgings beset with military guards, by which we are entirely prevented from going about our own affairs, and put in fear of our lives. Thus are our most valuable privileges of Englishmen, set at nought, and trampled upon ; thus are we kept prisoners in our own house, from fear of being assaulted when we go abroad, and thus is the government become military, and we are at once made liable to all the consequences which it is needless for us to point out, as they must be but too obvious to every one who reflects that he is a Briton, and a son of freedom, unless the civil power heartily interferes to prevent such unprecedented proceedings, before they have gained too great a head. When we reflect upon the transactions of this day, when we reflect that we appealed to the laws of our country, and when we reflect that that appeal was disregarded, how can we but tremble for our liberties, which lie at the last gasp. If we have committed any crime we are ready to answer for it, and shall rejoice to be tried by an impartial jury : to that we fly for protection against such unwarrantable and lawless proceedings. If through ignorance we have committed any error in point of form, we hope you will excuse it, and esteem us your distressed fellow subjects,

(Signed) Benj. Wilding,
John Petrie.

In consequence of this letter, they were carried before the foreman and jury by a peace officer ; and after being sworn and examined, they were

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conducted back to their lodgings, exulting in the hope of obtaining redress against their oppressors.

Let it be remembered to the lasting infamy of British settlers in the first precedency of Indostan, that there were not twelve honest men found to stand forth the assertors of that liberty inherent to their birthright. Ten declared for the causes of freedom, and seven for arbitrary power : and the judges were of opinion, that only twelve could constitute a legal majority. The expiring spirit of liberty, in the last struggles against tyranny, curled these seven prostitutes to power ; but not a single spark of that noble principle blazed forth since that period.

When the juries were to have been sworn, there were twenty in the court ; but when sixteen had taken the oath, Mr. Vereist made the clerk of the peace call them over twice to know the number, and probably the names before he would permit the seventeenth to take the oath, and immediately upon its being administered to them, the other three were required to leave the court, for the jury was pronounced to be compleat. If this is law, sure it cannot be equity.

The situation of the two oppressed gentlemen, was now more deplorable than ever. Given up by men who assumed the power of suspending the laws to the mercy of their enemies, they had nothing to expect but the utmost severity ; yet the officers knowing Mr. Johnston's determination to prosecute to the utmost extent of the severity of the law, any daring attempt against the gentlemen protected under his roof, would not enter it by

force, unless expressly authorized by the order of Lord Clive

In the mean time an attorney, bolder than the rest, ventured to acquaint them, that they might at any time, bind the adjutant over to the peace, as well as any of his abettors, upon which each of them wrote the following letter.

To Randolph Marriott, Esq, one of his Majesty's
Justices of the Peace

S I R,

On the 26th of this current month, a person who calls himself lieutenant Baldwin, fort adjutant, came to the house where I reside, and threatened to bring a military force, consisting of a jamader and thirty seapoys, and carry me by violence a prisoner to the new Fort, there to confine me, if I would not subject myself to military law, after I had informed him twice, that I held no military employment, and was therefore not subject to military law. As this threatening has never been taken off, I have ever since lived in fear of my life, and am deterred from going about my lawful affairs, which suffers great impediments for fear of an assault in the streets. With a view to bring him to condign punishment, I must request you will bind him over to peace, as well as several other persons unknown to me, his abettors, and whom he called by the name of governor and council. But as I am apprehensive of being seized by this man in my way to you, I must likewise request you will order a peace officer to protect me till I come

come before you, and make oath to the truth of what I have herein set forth.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

(one copy signed) Ben. Wilding,
(another) John Petrie.

After several fruitless letters that passed between these gentlemen, and the justice wholly influenced against his oath, according to the dictates of a tyrannical ruler. The fort adjutant waited upon them, and in the most respectful terms delivered the compliments of the governor and council, telling them, that as Sir Robert Fletcher had accepted their resignation, they were no longer prisoners, but at liberty to go where they pleased. Tyrannical pride and meanness appeared most conspicuous through the whole course of these proceedings.

The unrelenting persecution of the governor and council of Calcutta against those who had resigned their commissions in the army, where they could no longer support the character of gentlemen, was carried on with more violence than ever.

Mr. Randolph Marriott the acting justice, who pay'd a servile obedience to their dictates, in open violation of the laws, and a flagrant contempt of all rules of equity, had referred the injured officers to the authority which had sent their oppressors, and pretended he could not interfere as an act of parliament had pointed out a method of redress. It was undoubtedly an unpardonable remissness of the legislature to have so long neglected to make inquiries about these daring abuses of the laws

laws of England, the protection of which the meanest subject in the company's settlements has an unquestionable right to claim. The justices of the peace in all the English presidencies, are members of the council, and derive from their power to oppress, the right of being invested with the magistracy. Whoever takes the trouble to trace back the origin and illiberal education of the fortunate emigrants into India, who have ruled uncontrolled for twenty years past over the princes of the country and their fellow citizens, will find that they were untutored and penniless boys, who left England at the age of sixteen or seventeen, and were ever afterwards taught to believe, their ignorance of the laws was immaterial, as the dispensing power of the governor and council is the standard of equity. The peremptory orders from the company at home, or the monopolizing rapacious spirit of their servants abroad, decide ultimately on the most important causes, and the extensive connections of the members of the council, concerned directly or indirectly in all branches of trade for import and export, make them judges and parties in all suits and cases. Thus the magistrates instead of administering justice according to their oath and their conscience, sacrificed both to a servile non-resistance to tyranny and oppression.

We shall submit the narrative of Mr. Vernon Duffield relative to his own case, and that of Mr. Francis Robertson of Bengal, to the judgment of the impartial reader.

Having served many years in the army at Bengal, I was one of the many officers who thought themselves injured and distressed, by the sudden reduction

tion of the established batta money, in December 1765, by lord Clive and his secret Committee ; and who, after waiting in fruitless hopes of a favourable issue to their remonstrances, came to a resolution to resign on the first of May 1766. The brigade I belonged to lay in cantonment, at Bankipore near Patna, under the command of colonel Sir Robert Barker, who sent me an order immediately after I had resigned my commission, to repair to Calcutta the very next day. Upon this I waited on Sir Robert Barker, to be acquainted with the reasons of my having so short notice given me ; particularly as he knew my wife and family were with me, totally unprepared for so long a journey, and my private concerns altogether unsettled ; and farther to request, that if (notwithstanding I was no longer in the company's military service) I must go, he would allow me a few days more to settle my affairs. My remonstrances and request had no effect : whereupon I asked colonel Barker, if he would stand to all the consequences of the losses that may happen of my valuable effects, from the dangers of the river, as well as of those I should, on so short a notice, be necessitated to leave behind me : the colonel returned for answer, that I must go, and that he would stand to every thing he did ; whereupon I was obliged to leave Bankipore that evening ; taking with me my wife and family, and leaving behind unadjusted debts that were due to me to the amount of 16,000 rupees. The boats on the company's account, provided by colonel Barker to carry me to Calcutta, appeared so excessively bad, that I could not think of venturing myself and family with them, and having luckily a boat

In a boat of my own, I embarked with my family on board my own boat, putting my baggage in the boats provided for that purpose ; fearing much at the same time that they would not be able to undergo the voyage to Calcutta which was about 450 miles off. Just after my arrival at a place called Noon Galah, I received an order from colonel Barker, that I must not on any account touch, or call at Mongheer, on my way. On my passage down, one of the company's boats with a part of my baggage on board, to the amount of one thousand rupees, was lost in a storm near Bhar ; whereupon I wrote to colonel Barker, informing him of the accident, and that in consequence of his declaration, " that he should stand to the consequence " of this sending me out of the country." I should send him an account of the particulars of my loss, and call upon him for the amount : to which letter he never returned any answer. Having procured another boat at my own expence, to take in such part of the baggage as was saved from the wreck, I proceeded on till we arrived at Bandacoot, a place about 100 miles off Calcutta, where, not finding water sufficient to carry boats any further. I was under the necessity of leaving the boats and of travelling over land with my family and baggage at my own expence ; which including boat-hire, bearers, coolies, hackeries and other travelling charges cost me about 600 rupees before I arrived at Calcutta, which was the beginning of June ; having been better than a month on my passage down.

On the 9th of June 1766, I received an order from the governor and council of Calcutta. in
 which

which four other gentlemen were included, directing us to hold ourselves in readiness to embark for Europe by the returning ships of that season. As this was an unprecedented thing; I imagined it was done with a design, to frighten us into the service again; and finding afterwards that many of the resigners had again actually entered into the service; and farther considering I was in rank near a majority, and that if the governor and council should persist in carrying their order for my suddenly going to Europe into execution by force, it would be the cause of inevitable ruin to me and my family; I therefore was necessitated to make every submission that could be made with decency and propriety to the president and council, as well as to several particular members, in order to procure my reinstatement; but my applications and submissions were all ineffectual.

On the 18th of August 1766, to my great surprise I received a letter from Mr. William Aldersey, secretary; informing me, "that in consequence of the notice already given me of the 6th of June 1766, to prepare for returning to Europe, for the part I bore in the late resignation of officers of the army; he was ordered, by the right honourable lord Clive, president; and the council of Calcutta, to acquaint me that I must accordingly embark on board the lord Camden, which ship was expected to sail towards the end of the month; and that captain Smith was furnished with an order for receiving me on board with my necessaries."

At this time my wife was gone three months with child. Such unexpected news, and the reflection of my being thus cruelly torn from her, overcame

her so much that she fell sick and a violent fever ensued which had near cost her life; and in the middle of this illness she miscarried.

I found from captain Smith, commander of the lord Camdeo, who had likewise received his orders from the governor and council, that I was to be taken on board as a charter party passenger, and should have but had accommodations on board. Charter-party passengers are sent home at the company's expence, and are entitled to ship's provisions as common sailors. It was putting a gentleman on a footing with the felons transported from England to America, at the expence of the crown.

In the midst therefore of my distresses, I once more addressed the governor and council in the most submissive terms, requesting that, in consideration of my long, faithful, and known services in the company military employ, I might as well as others, be re-admitted to my former station. I farther represented the distressed situation of my self and family, and that I could not thus go to Europe without inevitable ruin.

In answer to this my humble supplication, I received a letter from Mr. secretary Aldersey, dated Calcutta the 25th of August 1766, informing me, " that he was ordered by the right honourable the president and council to acknowledge the receipt of my letter to them, and to acquaint me, in answer, that they were determined to have their orders duly complied with; and unless I did repair on board the lord Camden in proper time, pursuant to the notice I had already received, that I might be assured the company's orders would be put in execution, by embarking me by force.

On

On Friday the 29th of August, lord Clive ordered his aid-de camp captain Upton, to acquaint me, that he expected I would go on board the ship lord Cambden, captain Smith, on the Monday next, as the captain went on board that day, and that Mr. Kerfall the commissary general had orders to provide me with boats. As I had before heard colonel Barker declare, in presence of several officers, that lord Clive would sacrifice himself, family and fortune, and even the whole settlement, rather than give up his point. I now plainly perceived it was impossible to soften his inhuman heart to compassion, but that I should shortly be torn from my family, fortune, and every thing dear to me. All that I could do on this occasion, in the settlements of Calcutta, was to cause the notary public, Mr. John Holme, to draw up two protests against lord Clive, the council, and captain Nathaniel Smith, of the lord Cambden; which was accordingly done, and one of them I presented to the governor and council, and the other to captain Smith.

On the morning of the 3d of September captain Upton came to my house, and informed me that lord Clive had sent him to me, to desire I would not repel force by force, as he intended that afternoon to send an officer with a party of seapoys to force me on board the lord Camden; and that his lordship farther desired him to acquaint me, that he would give me all the law on my side. I could require, as he was fully determined to *enter into my house*, either at the house or windows. I desired captain Upton to present my respects to lord Clive, and acquaint him, that I was resolved not

to go on board any ship by consent, and that his lordship might use what force he pleased, as I would sooner loose my life than be separated from my wife family and fortune, in such a cruel and unlawful manner

Accordingly the next morning, being the 4th of September, ensign Peter Angersteen entered and surrounded my house with a serjeant and twelve or fourteen scapoys, in order to seize my person, but on my perceiving the guard enter the door of the forepart of my house, I being then in the hall, shut the doors of the room against them, expecting the guard would break them open, as captain Upton had before acquainted me his lordship's intentions were but ensign Angersteen finding I had shut the windows of my house, immediately planted six centinels at the doors and windows, and gave strict orders to the guard, not to suffer either victuals or drink to be admitted to me, nor any person to have any communication with me My wife at this time being in an adjacent room of the house, was not permitted to come into the apartment I was in, nor even suffered to talk to me through the bars of the windows Upon my asking ensign Angersteen by what authority he acted so imprudently and unlawfully? he told me it was by lord Clive's positive order, which he had signed and sealed by his lordship's own hand At my request he read part of the order to me, standing at some distance from the window, purporting that he, Angersteen, was to take a guard, and secure the persons of captain Vernon Duffell and ensign Francis Robertson, not to suffer any person or persons what'oe'er to go in or to come out, or allow

low provisions, liquors or supplies of any kind to be conveyed to them, without his lordship's express orders, and that he might try to get in at the windows, or by any other-finesse to secure their persons."

When ensign Angersteen had read thus much of his orders, he put them in his pocket. I begged he would read the whole to me: but he refused doing it, and went away leaving the guards stationed as before-mentioned. Dinner being ready, my wife and some of my servants approached to give me some victuals through the bars of the windows; upon which the centinels pushed them away with great insolence, and abused them to the highest degree. About this time a jammadar or black officer of seapoys, entered a room joining to my house, where my wife and part of my family were sitting, and with the greatest assurance insisted on sitting close to her. I immediately spoke to him in his own language, telling him, that was my wife and family, and desired him to go out of my house; upon which he abused me beyond expression.

In this situation I wrote to the mayor and aldermen of Calcutra, as also to Randolph Marriott and Hugh Watts, Esquires, his majesty's justices of the peace, acquainting them with my situation, and informing them, that not being a military man, neither having committed robbery, treason, murder, nor any other crime or misdemeanor, I applied to them as to the civil power of that city, hoping for their protection.

On the 5th of September I received a letter from Mr. John Holme, register of the mayor's court, acquainting me, that he was ordered by the court to

to inform me, that my affair did not come within their cognizance or jurisdiction : and the same day I received an answer from Mr. Watts, that he was sick ; but having received no answer from Mr. Marriott, I wrote to him again, informing him, that my condition was then such, that I was starving, and had not even been allowed to go to the necessary-house, during my confinement. In answer, I received a letter from Mr. Marriott the same day, acquainting me, he had received my letter, and informing me that if I would now please to apply to Claud Russel, Esq; who was the present acting justice of the peace, he dared to say, I should be granted a civil officer to conduct me to him, in order to lay my grievances before him. On this information I wrote twice to Mr. Russell, who at last thought proper to answer me, that as soon as he could have the opinion of the bench of justices upon the subject of my complaint, he would acquaint me with it. Some time after Mr. Russel informed me by letter, that the members of the board being dispersed in the country, a full bench could not be assembled till that morning the 8th of September, and that Mr. Grose their clerk, whom they had deputed to wait on me, would acquaint me with the result of their meeting. Accordingly Mr. Grose came to me that evening, and informed me, by word of mouth, through the bars of my windows, that the bench of justices had laid my letters before lord Clive, and asked his reasons for placing the guards on me in the manner I had related in my letters, and that his lordship had answered, that he had not ordered the guards to confine me to my room, but on the contrary had given them

them orders to let me go about where I would; that I was at liberty to go to any part of Calcutta, and that the reason of the guard being placed over me, his lordship said, was for not obeying the orders of the governor and council in going on board the lord Cambden. Farther, that the bench of justices thought the letters I had laid before them was groundless, and they should take no farther notice of them, but that if I would, agreeable to the orders of the governor and council, proceed on board the lord Cambden, I might expect all the civility and good treatment I could wish for.

These minutes reported by the bench of justices, I took down in writing before Mr. Grose, and the next day I addressed them again, 'expostulating on their message, disapproving certain allegations and acquainting them that as a British subject, much oppressed, I applied to them as his majesty's justices, requesting they would examine ensign Angersteen, serjeant Halsell, and the havaldar of the guard, upon oath, concerning the orders by which they acted; but that as for going on board the lord Cambden, I had already acquainted the governor and council that I could not comply with such orders.

The bench did not shew the least inclination to comply with my request, respecting the examination, so on the 10th of September 1766, I wrote again separately to William Summer, Harry Verelst, Randolph Marriott, Claud Ruffel, Thomas Kelsall, Charles Floyer, and William Aldersey, Esqrs. his majesty's justices, acquainting them, that I wanted to swear the peace against ensign Angersteen; and as I was prevented from waiting upon them,

them, by my being confined, I should be glad to see any one of them at my house to take my deposition. None of these gentlemen however, thought proper to come to my house, or even answer my letter, except the cautious Mr Ruffel, who wrote to me on the 11th of September, that in case my desire of swearing the peace against ensign Angersteen arose from any cause that had no connection with the subject of my former letters, he would be glad to see me at his house, and if necessary for that purpose, he would send a constable for my protection. but in case it had to do with my former letters, he had no authority.

The same day I received a letter from Mr. Grose, acquainting me, that he was directed by the bench of Justices, who had assembled on the several applications I had made to them, both separately and jointly, to inform me, that on enquiry into the cause of my complaints, they did not appear to be cognizable by any civil authority there, being against the president and council.

The president and council act by the authority of the company, or the court of directors, and the magistrates by the authority of the laws, and for the sovereign. Thus the authority of the servants of the East-India company is in Bengal, held to be superior to that of the sovereign and the laws.

After this final answer from the bench of justices, it plainly appeared impossible to obtain any redress in Bengal against such illegal and arbitrary proceedings, because those gentlemen as sworn justices of the peace would not condemn one another for what they transacted as counsellors.

Having

Having been ten days and nights close confined in my house, in want of common necessaries, and even daylight, overcome with the heat of the weather and the smell of my room, which was now become extremely disagreeable; in this situation I had been attacked with a disease, which often proves mortal in that country, and I was in fact at the point of death, when I determined to have my doors opened, and to surrender myself prisoner to lord Clive and the council. But before I executed this resolution, on the 13th of September I wrote to lord Clive on account of my situation, to hear what he would say; to which he immediately returned me for answer, that I was no stranger to the reason of the guard of seapoys being posted near my house, but that I certainly knew they were not posted there to confine me to the house, but that I might come out when ever I thought proper.

After this I had my doors opened, and with the assistance of Mr. Gowin, made a shift that night to crawl to the house of Mr. James, a near neighbour.

I was followed close by six seapoys, with bayonets fixed on their muskets, while the remainder of the guard that stay'd at my house, posted double centinels at the doors of the room where I had been confined, and would not suffer my wife nor any one, to enter therein. I staid and supped at Mr. James's, in company with miss Stanford, Madden, Broadbent and doctor Savage, who were eye witnesses of the above. After supper ensign Angersteen came to Mr. James, and notwithstanding I had shewed him the letter I had received from lord Clive, conducted me with the guard that was with me, back to my own house, where I was still

guarded as a prisoner, but with less rigour than before. On the 14th of September in the morning, I was carried out in my palanquin in company with Mr Britain, in order to enter a protest against lord Clive and the bench of justices, but was followed through the streets by two of the seapoys with drawn bayonets and notwithstanding all the pretences and assurances of lord Clive, that I was at liberty, I was on a sudden surrounded by a new guard of twelve seapoys, who in a most contemptuous manner made me their prisoner, and forced me back to my own house, in the presence of Messrs Britain, Holme and Randall, lieutenant Edmonson, the Rev Mr Kinnander and Mr Carewood, where I remained prisoner, with double centinels over me, but with liberty however to go from one room to the other.

On the evening of the 17th of September, the guard made an attempt to seize my person in the hall, but upon my retiring into my bed-chamber, they did not chuse to follow me, as I suppose, for fear of fire arms. This behaviour gave me great suspicion, that lord Clive had given particular orders concerning me, to be executed that night, which was verified by the event, for in the dead of the night, or rather the morning of the 18th, between two and three o'clock, ensign Augersteen came with serjeant Snider and part of the guard, and entered the room where I was with my wife, and immediately seizing me by the right arm, tore me in a most barbarous manner from her, notwithstanding in that instant she fell to the ground in a fit. I was dragged through the streets of Calcutta to the river side, and put into a badger boat, where I re-

I remained with centinels at the cabin-door from three in the morning till four that afternoon ; when ensign Angersteen came to see me in the cabin, I asked him what was to be done with me ? he informed me, lord Clive had given orders, that I should be put down the river, and put on board a sloop, the captain of which had orders to proceed, with me to Madras.

About this time my wife came to see me in her palankeen, though extremely weak after her late miscarriage. She said she was determined to share my fate in going with me, rather than be thus separated from me by lord Clive after eight years marriage. Accordingly I consented to take her with me, and leaving attorneys to settle my affairs : but upon this ensign Angersteen immediately ordered the boat to be pushed off, and again in a most cruel manner forced us from each other ; which so affected my wife that I did not expect she would survive it.

The boat immediately put off, under the command of serjeant Snider with the guard, ensign Angersteen remaining behind. There was a gentleman, named Francis Robertson, late an officer in the army, who had also in the same manner been confined to his house, under charge of a party of Angersteen's seapoys, and who was brought on board with me. In our passage down the river he shewed me a copy of lord Clive's orders, which he had procured from ensign Angersteen, exactly taken from the original, on the 18th of September, in presence of Mr. Patrick Duff and Mr. James Hume, as follows :

To Ensign Angersleen.

S I R,

" You are to take a guard and secure the persons of captain Vernon, Duffield and ensign Francis Robertson, when secured, you are to embark them in badgers or boats provided for that purpose, and convey them by water on board the Lord Camden, delivering them to the charge of captain Smith. In case you meet with resistance of fire-arms, swords or any other weapons that may endanger the loss of your own life, or the lives of any of your party, you are to desist from the attempt, contenting yourself with placing guards in such a manner, that they cannot possibly escape; nor are you to suffer any person or persons whatsoever to go in or come out, or allow provisions, or liquors, or any other supplies of any kind to be conveyed to them, without my express orders. You are likewise to endeavour to prevail upon the said two officers to surrender themselves quietly, and if that has no effect, you may try, by getting in at the window, or by any other means, to secure their persons, but upon no account by force or violence to break open any lock. If the door be not locked, you may in that case open it, and force the said two officers.

Fort William the 4th (L. S.)
September 1766.

(Signed) Clive."

On

On the 19th in the afternoon, we arrived along side the sloop, near Ingellee, and upon refusing to go voluntarily on board, were forced up the side by serjeant Snider and his guard, in presence of Mr. Briggs and Mr. Ingles. I told Briggs who commanded the sloop, that since he had suffered me to be put forcibly on board, I should look upon myself as his prisoner, and upon him as answerable for the consequences hereafter. He answered he could not help it, that he had received orders from the governor and council, for that purpose.

Mr. Briggs set sail for Madras; and after we had been a few days at sea, he shewed me the order he had received from the governor and council of Calcutta which was as follows.

To captain William Briggs of the Ann sloop.

S I R,

"You are hereby ordered to receive on board your sloop, captain lieutenant Vernon Duffield and ensign Francis Robertson, whom you are to carry to Madras, and deliver them to the orders of the president and council there.

Dated Fort William the 15th of Sept. 1765.

By order of the right honourable the president and council.

William Aldersey, Secretary."

After a very disagreeable passage on the 17th of October at night, we arrived at Madras; and on the 13th were taken ashore by captain Briggs, in order to be delivered over to the governor and coun-

council to whom we were consigned, for further imprisonment and transportation ; on notice of our arrival, a serjeant came, and informed us, that captain Foster desired we would come to the fort immediately ; and on refusal, he had orders from governor Palk to send a guard and bring us by force. We desired the serjeant to acquaint captain Frasier, that as we were prisoners of Mr. Briggs, we could not think by any means of setting ourselves at liberty, and should therefore wait his return. The serjeant finding captain Frasier asleep, went to colonel Tod who ordered the serjeant to take a guard and bring us prisoners into the fort, and in less than an hour he returned with a guard of seapoys and carried us into the fort to captain Frasier's house, who by this time was getting up. He informed us that the governor had given orders for us to be immediately sent on board the *Speaker*, captain Dewar, which was to sail that evening for Bombay, and in case of our refusal, he had orders to force us on board with a proper guard. Thus these injured officers, who had been guilty of no other fault, than that of resigning their commission, were sent forcibly from Bengal to Madras, then to Bombay, and from thence down the Malabar coast on their way to England. We requested we might have the permission of seeing colonel Tod, which captain Frasier granted, and sent lieutenant Spratt to guard us. We acquainted colonel Tod with our situation, and begged he would inform the governor of our distress, for want of a few hours time on shore to prepare for the voyage : but he refused saying, the affair did not concern him.

Lieutenant Spratt therefore conducted us to the sea side with a guard, forced us into a boat, and from thence into the ship *Speaker*. When we were embarked, and saw captain Dewar, we asked him if he had received any order from the governor and council of Madras to receive us on board his ship? he replied, he had received orders from them to receive us on board as charter-party passengers, which he would do. After we had been some days at sea he shewed us the orders he had received, from the said governor and council, which were as follow :

To captain James Dewar of the ship *Speaker*.

S I R,

" You are hereby ordered to receive on board your ship, as charter party passengers for England, captain lieutenant Vernon Duffield, and ensign Francis Robertson.

H. M. Goodlad, Secretary."

Fort St. George the 13th of October, 1766.

S I R,

" I am further ordered to acquaint you, that the said captain lieutenant Vernon Duffield and ensign Francis Robertson are not to be permitted to go on shore at Bombay, without the particular orders of the governor and council there.

H. M. Goodlad, Secretary."

Fort St. George the 13th of October, 1766.

After

After our arrival at Bombay, we wrote to captain Dewar for leave to go on shore, who sent his purser Mr. John Davis, to inform us, that he could not give us leave, but advised us to apply to the governor and council there. Whereupon we wrote to them, requesting permission to come on shore for our healths, on our paroles to return on board the Speaker when she was ready to sail

In answer to our letter we received one from Mr. Ramsay, secretary to the governor and council, informing us that he was directed by their order to acquaint us, that they had no objections to our residing upon Butcher's island during the Speaker's continuance at Bombay, provided we would enter into a bond of 500*l*. each, to repair voluntarily on board again, when required, giving proper security for the same. We could not help thinking these conditions imposed on us very harsh and inhuman, for Butcher's island, in the harbour of Bombay, is a place commanded by a non-commissioned officer's guard, which we were informed was only used for the confinement of felons, and other prisoners, and for the keeping of the governor's live stock, and with respect to the security bond, it was out of our power to give it, being entire strangers to every body in Bombay

We therefore expostulated with the governor and council upon the unreasonableness of these proposals, and after further deliberation, they ordered Mr. secretary Ramsay to acquaint us, that in consideration of our circumstances, they would consent to our coming on shore at Bombay, provided we would execute the parole which was inclosed to us. But they acquainted us, that the board could
not

not but remark injustice to themselves, that their proposal for our residing on Butcher's Island was no way unreasonable, as it was allowed to be a very healthy and pleasant place, where people had frequently gone for the benefit of their healths. We each of us executed and returned the paroles which were sent us as follows,

I, the underwritten Vernon Duffield, now charter-party passenger on board the honourable East India company's ship *Speaker*, ordered to England by the president and council of Madras, do hereby give my parole of honour to the president and council of Bombay, that if they will admit of my going on shore there for refreshment, I will during my residence on the same island, conduct myself in every respect in a becoming manner as a gentleman, and voluntarily return on board the said ship without hesitation, whenever I may be required, for proceeding on her voyage to Great-Britain.

Dated on board the ship *Speaker* the 10th of December 1766.

After this captain Dewar sent an order to the commanding-officer on board to permit us to go on shore, which we accordingly did, and on the 23d of January 1767, we received the following order.

To Messieurs Vernon, Duffield and Francis
Robertson.

Gentlemen,

I am directed by the honourable the president and council to acquaint you, that their dispatches for the *Speaker* will be signed on Monday morning, the 26th instant, and to acquaint you to re-

pair on board her accordingly, agreeable to the parole you executed upon coming on shore.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant.

(Signed) Andrew Ramfey, Secretary.

Bombay Castle, 23d January, 1767.

We accordingly repaired on board the *Speaker*, where having only the accommodation of charter-party passengers, with scarce room to hang our hammocks; I was obliged to purchase the use of the boatswain's cabin, for eight pounds, and having been informed at Bombay, that governor Crommelin, who was passenger from Bombay also in this ship, would not allow of our eating at table with him, we were under the necessity of agreeing with the under mates to mess with them.

We left Bombay and proceeded down the Malabar coast to Tillicherry, where Mr. Robertson, dissatisfied with his situation in the *Speaker*, left us, upon giving captain Dewar his parole of honour to proceed to Europe in a French ship. From Tillicherry we proceeded to Anjingo which was the last port in India that we were to touch at. Just before we sailed from the Malabar coast, captain Dewar informed me that governor Crommelin had desired him to acquaint me, that he had now no objections to my eating at his table; by which I understood the reason of his objecting before to have been for fear of disobliging lord Clive. As therefore I was not at all plesed with my situation, I purchased the privilege of the captain's table for one hundred pounds sterling; we proceeded to St. Helena,

Helena, which we again left in May 1767, and set sail for England.

(Signed) Vernon Duffield.

Mr. Duffield after his arrival in England, precluded from the resources of the moderate fortune he had acquired in Indostan, ruined and unconnected, found himself unable to seek for a lawful revenge of his wrongs against his oppressors. As he had no prospect of satisfaction adequate to his injuries, he went back to Bengal, to gather the scanty remains of his scattered fortune. Thus a British subject driven by violence and a merciless persecution from the English settlements, was forced for want of money and interest, to leave lord Clive to enjoy his unmanly triumph with impunity. When lord Clive acquainted Mr. Duffield that he would give him all the law on his side, as he was fully determined to break into his house. Did not such an avowed design to violate the sacred asylum of his fellow-subject, shews that he thought his wealth and power should baffle all means of redress, suggested by justice and equity?

The following case of John Nevill Parker, Esq; of Bengal; with Sir Fletcher Norton's opinion, reflects no less disgrace upon the memory of our hero.

John Nevill Parker, Esq; a lieutenant in the king's service, on the 5th of March 1754. obtained with his majesty's permission; a commission from the company, as captain of foot, having infirmities

and carried over with him to India a company of an hundred and ten men.

He resigned his commission on account of the reduction of camp allowance, called Batta, and on the 18th of May 1766, he was permitted by major Smith to quit the army, notwithstanding which it was afterwards pretended that he was still a military man, and on the fifth of June 1766, when engaged in his own private business, he was suddenly seized at Banates, in the jurisdiction of the Nabob Sujah Ali Dowlah, by an order from colonel Richard Smith, where he was ignominiously dragged through the streets, and then close confined. He was conducted thence to Chuprah, where he arrived on the 14th of June, and on the 16th of the same month he arrived at Patna. He was then carried and confined in a dismal hole, and on the 16th of September he was summoned to attend a court martial where he was informed his former resignation was now deemed mutiny, for which he was to be tried.

Mr Parker objected to the authority of the court, insisting that he had never entered into any contract or agreement with the East India company, to serve them for any fixed time, that he had resigned their employ in the beginning of May last, had not been mustered for some months before, nor had he received any pay from the preceding month of April.

The following is a copy of Mr Parker's protest, delivered to the court on the 17th of September, 1766

Gentlemen, president, and members
I am astonished when I reflect on the ignominious
treat-

treatment I have endured ; and am more particularly surprized at being oppressed by those whose sphere it is to protect the subject, support the glorious constitution of England, and enact as well as cherish its laws : but when these just and laudable motives are no longer thought worthy of attention, individuals far distant from the seat of liberty, destitute of friends, interest, and every other support, are born down by a torrent of persecution, and dragged in defiance of all laws, from place to place, as I have most injuriously experienced.

I presume, gentlemen, it is necessary to acquaint you, that I never entered into any contract or agreement to serve the honourable company, and I did for many obvious reasons resign their employ in the beginning of May last ; neither was I mulctured for months before that time ; nor have I received pay, or any other allowance, since the preceding month of April ; and in confirmation thereof, when I was with the rest of the late officers, doing duty in the garrison of Illahabad, major Smith the commanding officer, on the 15th of May last, summoned us, and published a letter sent him by col. Smith, from the right honourable the commander in chief, wherein he declared he would accept of the resignation of all those officers, who signified their intention of quitting the service. In answer to which we informed major Smith, we should leave the garrison on the 20th of that month, or sooner, if we could provide ourselves with boats to proceed to Calcutta. On the 17th of that month, I left Illahabad with the major's approbation, and in a few days after I arrived at Bandras, where I was seized the 5th of June following, by an order of
colonel

colonel Smith, bearing date the first of the same month. I cannot suppose, gentlemen, knowing these facts, which I can now prove, and which are by the laws of Great Britain inseparable obstacles to my being tried by a military court, that you will proceed no farther against me.

The shocking and degrading manner of apprehending me, and the many insults I have publicly suffered, so reflected on my character as an officer, in which station I have had the honour to serve my king and country for many years, with the approbation and applause of my superiors, that I determined to solicit a trial; and it was firmly my intention to have stood one, had I been released, in allowing it to have been a voluntary act of mine: but so far was I from being ever countenanced by his lordship, or obtaining the least mitigation of the severity of my treatment, that insults were repeated, and I had been a prisoner forty days previous to my being ordered before the last court martial; and as a farther aggravation, I was still continued under the same disagreeable circumstances; and I have altogether suffered this cruel and vexatious imprisonment, three months and ten days: which are the motives that induced me to object to my being tried, and from which I am resolved never to swerve as long as I am thus mal-treated. Think not, gentlemen, that these sentiments proceed from any apprehension of the consequences of a trial: far from it; conscious of my own innocence, and having the highest opinion of the abilities, experience and impartiality of every one of you, I doubt not, could you with propriety try
me,

me, but that I should be honourably acquitted of the crime maliciously preferred against me.

You have now, gentlemen, a matter of importance to determine; however, trivial it may appear regarding me; yet in my case, must be decided; that of every British subject; who is, or may hereafter enter into the honourable company's military service, and whether liberty in this part of the world is a shadow or not.

Left it should be imagined by any person; that my consent is not requisite to try me legally, I beg leave to refer them to the recent and similar instance of lord George Sackville, who having resigned his military employment, by order of his Majesty, afterwards solicited a court-martial to clear his character of many imputations laid to his charge; which was refused him, on account of his having no connection with the army, and of course not being subject to military law. Notwithstanding, upon his repeated application; and after the opinion of the judges of England had been taken, who declared he could not be tried by a military court, except by his own desire and approbation; his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant his request.

As, I have used my endeavours in every part hereof, to pay a proper deference to the court, I hope therefore I have not transgressed, or deviated from the respect so justly due on all occasions.

(Signed) John Nevill Parker.

The court over-ruled Mr. Parker's objections to their jurisdiction; and insisted he should answer the charge, and only have two hours time to consider whether he would make his defence or not.

Having

Having been long confined, his life and character being at stake, and he still holding a commission in his majesty's service, he undertook under all disadvantages, to make his defence as well as he could, and several witnesses were examined; but the court in a very extraordinary manner refused to let him examine his witnesses to several points in his justification, particularly, not admitting him to prove his resignation of the company's service. He was also refused a copy, which he demanded, of the warrant, by which the court martial was authorized to try him.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages under which captain Parker laboured, the court-martial was necessitated honourably to acquit him of the crime of mutiny laid to his charge. Nevertheless, he was ordered down to Calcutta, being near four hundred miles from Patna, after having been kept close confined, in a manner the most ignominious and dangerous to his health; from the 5th of June to the 17th of October 1766, and was in other various respects very illegally treated.

Sir Fletcher Norton's opinion of this case.

This is a case under very extraordinary circumstances; and upon this state of facts it appears, that Mr. Parker has been very ill used, and the proceedings against him arbitrary and oppressive. But I am not able to point out a remedy which will not be attended with many difficulties, and the success doubtful. However, if captain Parker will run the hazard of the costs of an action at law, which are not very great, I think it will be advisable for him to bring an action against lord Clive, the president, and one or two more mem-
bers

bers of the court martial, and the persons who actually apprehended and confined him ; but great care must be taken in settling the pleadings, if any of them should plead specially, to get proper issues put upon the record.

Lincoln's Inn, March 17, 1768.

(Signed) Fletcher Norton.

Mr. Parker thus buoyed up with an opinion that he might obtain redress for the long imprisonment he had sustained and this in consequence of his voluntary and accepted resignation of the company's service, though acquitted by a court martial under all the influence which power and management might be supposed to effect, brought his action and damages against lord Clive. After combating for two years all the evasions which the shameful privileges of parliament then permitted lord Clive to use ; they were at last brought to a period, when he was obliged either to enter his plea of justification, or suffer judgment to be entered up against him. Being unable with the assistance of half the council of England, to assign any justification that would bear a judicious examination on paper, the plaintiff was at liberty to enter up his judgment. Here again the attorney was intimidated by the privilege of parliament, and was told besides, that unless his client should come into an agreement of permitting certain papers in the India house, which were no legal evidence, to be read at the trial on the behalf of the defendant, and likewise permit the defendant to place the general issue, and give the whole special matter in evidence ; the court would be moved for a commis-

sion to examine witnesses in India, which would at least last them six or seven years. The poor oppressed gentleman, who had already expended all the money he had acquired ; and seeing no end to the labours he was to undergo, in obtaining a precarious redress in the end, under all the influence of the East-India company, which was now exerted against him, accordingly submitted to an unsatisfactory compromise, without the advice of his worthy and honourable council, Mr. Dunning, who immediately foresaw the pernicious consequences, but notwithstanding exerted himself to the last in resisting every act of power, party, corruption and artifice, which was displayed to the conclusion of this process. Mr. Parker was first nonsuited upon a point of law taken up by lord Mansfield, upon which, however, his lordship had not the good fortune to carry the opinion of the other judges of the court. The matter was finished by a kind of compromise, ending in a resolution which nobody had ever controverted ; “ that an officer in the service of the East-India company has not a right to resign his commission at all times, under all circumstances whatsoever, whenever he pleated.” Upon the trial Mr. Parker’s chief difficulty was, to prove that lord Clive had ever known of his being under arrest, during the five months he had been dragged about, although when in his sickly situation, by his long confinement, he had been visited by Mr. Ingham, lord Clive’s body physician, living in his family on the spot, who had the honesty to declare upon the trial, that he did not believe he had ever made any report to lord Clive ; and although the constant practice of the army is, to
make

make a daily report in writing by the officer who leaves the guard, of the number of prisoners, how long confined, and for what crimes, and that it was proved lord Clive, the commander in chief, had resided seven weeks in the place where Mr. Parker was a prisoner; yet the jury was told, and it may be presumed rightly, according to the maxims of the common law, that there was no proof to shew lord Clive knew of the plaintiff's confinement: upon which ground chiefly a verdict was found for the defendant. Thus the fortune of the conqueror of Plassey accompanied him in Westminster-Hall, against the man he had so notoriously injured and oppressed.

We must not omit doing justice to the gallant behaviour of Sir Rober Fletcher, whilst he commanded the company's troops in the absence of major Munro and major Carnac in Bengal. He attacked and defeated Sujá Dowla's army, and made himself master of an advantageous fort on the top of a hill, that had baffled the repeated efforts of his predecessors in command; the governor of which, after three practicable breaches had been made in the walls, delivered up the keys with tears in his eyes, and with these affecting words:

"I have endeavoured to act like a soldier, but deserted by my prince, and left with a mutinous garrison, what could I do? God and you (laying his hand on the Koran, and pointing to his soldiers) are witnesses, that to the faith of the English I now trust my life and fortune." What a noble behaviour; becoming the bravest and most polished European. His troops had been without pay for above six months.

As early as this period, the plan of administration was, to make the British power in the East Indies respected, by an established military government: "The natives would pay no regard to the company, if the governors were not looked on as appointed by the king. Our company always makes use of his majesty's name, which is attended with good effects; but if the governor was called his excellency, it would strike a terror into the natives, among whom every thing goes by external figure. Our company are at a great expence in supporting the dignity of their governors; but, though the French company nominate their governors, they must be approved by the king. The people of India despise merchants, and honour soldiers; if a soldier bows to the seubah, he returns it, but never to a merchant. Even a naked soldier is looked on as a gentleman in India; therefore our king's soldiers appear great among them. It has been thought that if Calcutta, Madras; Bombay, and St. Helena, were each of them, with their dependencies, created into a separate colony, with a governor appointed by the king, to be assisted by a council and assembly chosen by the people, as in America, they would make as rich and flourishing colonies as Virginia or Jamaica, since their trade and commodities are of more value; and, if the free merchants there, were incorporated with the black merchants, who are extremely rich, and with the Indian artizans, who are sober and industrious, these colonies would soon grow up to such a height as can scarce be conceived. They would be so far from a monopolizing company, that they would not only be able to defray their own charges,

but

but might give assistance towards paying off the national debt."

In consequence of the late territorial acquisitions of the East India company, and divers new arrangements proposed, the situation of the company's affairs abroad and at home, was thus stated.

The commerce of Great Britain with China and the Indies, as carried on by the East India company, is now become an interesting object of public concern. In former times, when their stock was small and of little value, their trade confined, and their possessions nothing, it was viewed altogether in the light of a private adventure. But at present that there are near seven millions of property invested in that trade, an immense quantity of shipping employed, fleets and armies maintained, and great possessions acquired, every man almost in these kingdoms finds himself affected by its prosperity : We shall therefore, from the papers formerly published, endeavour to give our readers a true state of the company's affairs, both abroad and at home ; and shall begin with the revenues of Bengal for this year, taken from a state made out by lord Clive in India, before the late ships that arrived sailed.

| | | |
|---|-----------|--------------|
| Bahar | - - - - - | £. 700,000 |
| Bengal | - - - - - | 1,875,000 |
| Company's lands of Burdwan, &c. | - - - - - | 625,000 |
| Customs of Calcutta | - - - - - | 18,750 |
| Duties on salt, beetlenut, and tobacco, | - - - - - | 112,500 |
| Debt due from Souja Dowla | - - - - - | 562,500 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | £. 3,893,750 |

The

The revenues of Bengal and Bahar, here set down at 206 lacks, or 2,575,000*l* were rated, in 1762, in the books of Cossim Ali Khan's exchequer, at 2 crors 86 lacks, 76,813 rupees, or 3,584,601*l*. sterling So that they exceed the above state by more than a million sterling

The true state of the revenue of the several provinces ceded to the company, have likewise been found under-rated. The districts of Burdwan, Midnapoor, Chettygong, and Calcutta, never yielded more than 40 lacks, or 500,000*l* sterling; but since they have been in our possession, they have produced yearly about 50 lacks, or 625,000*l*. From all which, the best judges of these affairs are persuaded, that Bahar and Bengal will soon produce, with proper management, five hundred thousand pounds sterling annually more than they are stated at in the account which we have here followed.

Money to be paid yearly, out of the revenue of Bengal, viz.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|
| For the army | - | - | - | - | £. 585,000 |
| Military stores | - | - | - | - | 40,000 |
| Marine expences | - | - | - | - | 45,000 |
| Civil list | - | - | - | - | 200,000 |
| Fortifications and buildings at Calcutta | - | - | - | - | 100,000 |
| Barracks, &c. at different places | - | - | - | - | 75,000 |
| Yearly revenue to the king | - | - | - | - | 325,000 |
| Ditto to the Nabob | - | - | - | - | 667,500 |
| Bonds due | - | - | - | - | 900,000 |
| Restitution money to the sufferers at Bengal, donation to the army, &c. | - | - | - | - | 262,500 |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| Total of this year's expences at Bengal | - | - | - | - | £. 3,200,000 |

So that, from the amount of the yearly revenues of Bengal, deducting the above sums, there will remain to the company a clear balance of 693,500*l.* And this is the real situation of their affairs.

Besides the above accounts, notice should be taken of the revenues of other provinces granted at the same time; which, although they will not probably be received, yet will still increase the revenue, in time to come, at least 437,500.

Having thus stated the general account of the company's revenues, let us next shew the general state of their effects and debts due to them in the East-Indies

| | |
|---|------------|
| Balance in Bengal this year, as before stated | £. 693,500 |
| Balance due by the Nabob of Arcott, for which his country is a security | 450,000 |
| Debts due by the French for maintenance of prisoners | 250,000 |
| Remaining in China, after loading 15 ships already arrived in England | 200,000 |
| Amount of effects shipped off from London last year | 650,000 |
| Cost of our fortifications, &c. | 300,000 |

Total of the Company's effects in India £. 5,243,500
 From the above calculation it is manifest, that Bengal yielding a revenue of 1,293,000*l.* and the four northern provinces 437,500*l.* with a half a million more, which, by a moderate computation, we may suppose they will amount to in a few years, the company will soon enjoy a clear territorial revenue of two millions, after defraying all expenses

ees of the civil establishment in the East-Indies, charges of buildings, fortifications, barracks, &c. and when these last articles of expences cease, their amount will be so much addition to their clear balance.

The state of their affairs at home cannot be so accurately known, access to the proper papers being denied ; the following calculations, therefore, are founded only on general ideas, and the lights received from men much conversant in the India trade.

| Debts due to the Company | | £. |
|---------------------------|-----|-----------|
| Loan to government, 1698 | - - | 2,000,000 |
| Ditto to ditto, 6 Q. Anne | - - | 1,200,000 |

These two sums form the present capital stock, which gives the right of voting, and upon which the dividends are made.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----------|
| The government owes besides, a loan, | | |
| 17 Geo. II. made without any call | - - | |
| on the proprietors | - - | 1,000,000 |

| | | |
|---|---|-----------|
| Total of the debt, for which the nation | | |
| pays the company 3 per cent. | - | 4,200,000 |

Effects in England, viz.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---------|
| Houses, warehouses, and all other im- | | |
| moveable stock, valued at | - | 200,000 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|-----------|
| Goods in hand, money due to the com- | | |
| pany, and prompt payment lately made | - | 1,200,000 |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|-----------|
| Produce of the cargoes arrived and to | | |
| arrive this year | - | 2,750,000 |

| | | |
|--|---|-----------|
| Total of effects, debts, &c. belonging | | |
| to the company in England | - | 8,350,000 |

Nothing is here stated on account of the expence of the civil establishment in England, or for the

the rents of houses and warehouses there, because the duties on private trade, inwards and outwards, &c. fully compensate them.

Debts due from the company.

Money borrowed by act of parliament.

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Bonds, afterwards converted into annuities, bearing 3 per cent. interest by 23 George II. | £. 3,000,000 |
| Bonds still remaining, supposed neither to exceed nor fall short of the sum allowed by parliament to be borrowed | 3,000,000 |
| Total of borrowed money | <u>6,000,000</u> |

Occasional debts

| | |
|--|---------|
| Dwing on account of freight | 750,000 |
| Restitution money paid to the company by Jaffier Ali Cawn, 1757, for the private sufferers, illegally detained, and now awarded to be paid by a decree in chancery | 62,500 |
| The company's acceptances for draughts from India | 200,000 |
| Expences of 1000 soldiers, to be sent out this season, at 20l. each | 20,000 |

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Due to the bank, and to other creditors, about | <u>1,200,000</u> |
| Total debts due by comp. | <u>8,232,500</u> |
| Clear balance in favour of the company, or exceedings of their effects over their debts in England alone | 117,500 |
| Balance of effects in India, as stated before | <u>5,243,750</u> |
| Total | 5,361,250 |

Thus having laid before the public a view of the company's affairs at home, their happy situation abroad, and the great territorial increasing revenues they have acquired in the east, it only remains to give a general view of their commerce, by which they may be enabled to support their credit and prosperity, in case government should interfere, and assume the territorial revenues to themselves.

After demonstrating the the solidity of their bottom at home, their happy situation abroad, and the great territorial increasing revenues they have acquired in the East, it only remains to give a general view of their commerce, in order to enable the reader to judge how far that alone would be able to support them in credit and prosperity, in case government should interfere, and assume the territorial revenues to themselves.

Let us reckon that one year with another, 27 ships will be sent from England to India, their

their cargoes outwards, and the produce of their sales there, I estimate as follows, viz.

| | Prime cost in England. |
|---|---------------------------|
| 5 ships for Bengal | £. 95,000 |
| 2 ditto for Madrafs | 21,000 |
| 5 ditto for Bombay | 150,000 |
| 15 ditto for China | 210,000 |
| Sent to China from Bencoolen, about 800 tons of pepper, by ships which call there | 50,000 |
| | <hr/> 526,000 |

| | Produce in sterling. |
|--|-------------------------|
| | 125,000 |
| | 28,000 |
| | 200,000 |
| | 280,000 |
| | 100,000 |
| | <hr/> £. 733,000 |
| Then from the produce, deducting the prime cost | 526,000 |
| The difference will be a clear profit | <hr/> |
| on our outward trade, of | £. 207,000 |

We have next to value the profits on our homeward trade; upon which our chief commercial advantages depend.

| | Prime cost in India. |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| The charges of five ships from Bengal | £. 440,000 |
| Ditto of 2 ships from Madrafs | 136,000 |
| | Ditto |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Ditto of 5 ships from Bombay | 175,000 |
| Ditto of 15 from China | 450,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £. 1,301,000 |
| Deduct Excise paid by the Purchaser | 600,000 |
| And for freight | 432,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1,032,000 |

Produce in
England
1,173,000
200,000
250,000
1,800,000

From produce deducting prime cost
3,425,000

1,301,000

Remains 2,124,000
There will remain then a balance of
clear profit on our homeward trade, of 1,092,00
Which, with the profits of our outward
trade, amounts in all to £. 1,299,000

And let no man be surprized at these profits ;
for, without these, or much higher, how could the
company have maintaired wars for fifteen years in
the different parts of India, before they acquired
almost any territorial revenues.

ment, &c. Make then what allowance for these accidents you please, even to almost one half of the above profit, we still have demonstrated what we ventured to assert. That our trade alone, even upon the footing that it is at present, does actually afford, and ought always to afford in time to come, 640,000 l a sum sufficient to pay an annual dividend of 20 per cent.

The author, after having laid before the public the above state of the company's gains by their trade, which he thinks very moderate, proceeds, in a subsequent paper, to consider the subject in another light, and for another purpose, by which he seems, in one article only, to make a deduction of 600,000 l a year from their profits, and if in other articles they are equally unsuccessful, his boasted calculations, on which his large dividends depend, will appear to be very ill grounded. What the author considers, is the distressful situation of the tea trade, which he represents in the following manner.

An account of teas remaining in hand unsold, before the arrival of this year's ships from China

| | lb | s | d | £ |
|----------|-----------|----|----|-----------|
| Bohea | 5,572,760 | 2 | 11 | 813,131 |
| Congou | 433,300 | 4 | 6 | 97,492 |
| Hylon | 164,570 | 11 | | 90,513 |
| Pekoe | 4,800 | 6 | 8 | 1,600 |
| Singlo | 2,018,800 | 6 | 4 | 632,286 |
| Souchong | 94,080 | 6 | 6 | 30,576 |
| | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | 1,672,600 |
| | | | | Ac- |

Account of teas received this year in 15 ships from China.

| | | | | |
|---|-----------|------|----|-----------------|
| Bohea | 6,698,100 | at 2 | 11 | 976,806 |
| Congou | 946,500 | 4 | 6 | 212,962 |
| Hyfon | 97,500 | 11 | | 53,625 |
| Pekoe | 9,500 | 6 | 8 | 3,166 |
| Singlo | 1,699,500 | 6 | 4 | 538,175 |
| Souchong | 120,200 | 6 | 6 | 39,065 |
| Add the value of teas in hand, as above | | | | 1,672,600 |
| | | | | <hr/> 3,496,400 |
| Discount 6 half per cent. | | | | 227,266 |
| | | | | <hr/> |

Total value of teas now remaining in the company's warehouse £. 3,296,134

By these accounts, it appears that there is more than the whole amount of the company's capital bound up in the article of tea alone, and now lying perishing in their warehouses; for as this article is managed at present, the annual consumption does not much exceed one million one hundred thousand pounds, as the state of the last year's sales will show.

So that, by this state, our annual consumption does not take off above a third part of our stock in hand, while our wise directors, continuing to import annually to the value of 600,000*l.* more than the demand, do, in fact, form an aggregate fund, that must in time, at their rate of management, not only sink the capital in that commodity, but also every shilling of credit we can obtain. Lest any man doubt that the Directors can be so ignorant, or so obstinate, as to persist in this obvious mismanagement, I refer him to the number of ships taken up for China, both last year and the

the present ; and do further acquaint him, that beside the 200,000*l* remaining in China, after loading the last 15 ships, and the large amount of goods sending or ~~already~~ sent from hence, there is actually stated in the accounts from Bengal 24 lacks, or 300,000*l* to be remitted in cash to that country.

This is the real state of our China trade, which the deputy chairman declared to be distressing beyond measure, and which he said obliged the Directors to borrow considerable sums to carry on. Distressing indeed to the proprietors, if by the blundering conduct and narrow views of their managers, they are necessitated to raise sums of money to pay for goods which are thus allowed to rot in their warehouses.

But there are remedies for these evils so simple, that one should think they must have occurred to the directors, if ever they had turned their thoughts that way ; For example, it would be a wise policy to put up to sale a larger quantity of teas than we are at present accustomed to do, even though they should go at a lower rate, as this would encourage a more general consumption by the cheapness of the commodity, and we should still secure to ourselves a moderate profit on a more considerable quantity, which would be better than extorting an unreasonable gain on a narrow sale, dictated by the paltry spirit of monopoly.

The next expedient is a natural one, and could not have been overlooked by the present directors, had they ever thought of the interests of their constituents in their applications to parliament There is a custom paid on teas at importation, of

23l 18s. 7d. halfpenny per cent. value, and this duty is never drawn back upon re-exportation; now, this evidently prevents us from coming in competition with the Dutch, &c. in foreign markets, where their commodity is brought to sal-unincumbered with such a charge; it would have been an easy matter for our Directors to have obtained a drawback of this custom, as it yields at present a trifling revenue to the state; and the Parliament has never been known to refuse such drawbacks, when applied for; and often, in the true spirit of commerce, have granted bounties to encourage exportation. I hope the Directors will now take the hint, and apply themselves seriously to have this clog taken off our tea trade.

The following extraordinary letter has been presented to the Court of Directors of the United East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

WE, the under-mentioned Proprietors of East India stock, being duly qualified, agreeable to the company's Charter, do desire that a General Court of the said Company may be called to meet on Friday, the 14th of November next, to consider on empowering you to treat with this Majesty's Ministers, about an application to be made to Parliament, for extending the time limited for the expiration of the company's charter, by a further grant of 37 years, and for rendering for the use of the public the territorial revenues acquired by the company in the East Indies, after deducting all the expences both civil and

military of the company's settlements, upon the company being allowed the sum of 480,000*l.* per ann. for ten years certain, as an yearly dividend of 15 per cent. to the proprietors on their stock, to be paid out of the first of the revenues, after deducting the expences aforesaid ; and for inviolably applying for the said term of ten years, the profits of the company's trade (which must be supposed to exceed 600,000*l.* per annum) to accumulate to their present capital ; and for applying the nett profits of the company's trade, after the said ten years, to be divided amongst the proprietors, with the proviso, that if the nett profits of the company's trade, after the said ten years, should not be sufficient to make a dividend of 15 per cent. to the proprietors; the deficiency to be made up out of the revenues. That, by obtaining these points, both the public and the company may enjoy great, solid, and lasting advantages from their acquisitions, which must otherwise infallibly be a continued scene of rapine, plunder, and stock-jobbing, serving only to enrich individuals, and bring disorder into the company's affairs.

We are, hon. sirs, your most
obedient humble servants.

Signed by nine proprietors, as the charter directs:
London, October 29.

Their request was granted, and a general court, in consequence thereof, advertised in the public papers to be held.

The following is a copy of the charter granted by his late majesty to the East-India company.

George the second, by the grace of God, king of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender

der of the faith, and so forth, to all to whom these presents shall come greeting ; whereas by virtue of several charters or letters patent heretofore granted by divers of our royal predecessors, to different companies of merchants of London, and of England, trading to the East-Indies, which have formerly been incorporated ; such former companies have had power to send ships of war to their settlements in the East-Indies, to raise and keep a military force, and to make peace and war with any princes or people, not christians, in any places of their trade ; and also to right and recompence themselves upon the goods, estate, or people of those parts by whom they should sustain any injury, loss, or damage, or upon any other people that should any way interrupt, wrong, or injure them in their trade, within the limits of their charters : and whereas, by virtue of a charter, or letters patent, granted by our royal predecessor, King William the third, of glorious memory, bearing date at Westminster the fifth day of September, in the tenth year of his reign, and by virtue of our royal charter, or letters patent, under the great seal of Great Britain, bearing date at Westminster the eighth day of January, in the 26th year of our reign, the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, have power to raise and maintain such a body of standing forces at their several settlements in the East-Indies, and such a number of seamen and ships of defence as shall be necessary for the safeguard and defence of the same, and to take and surprize, all and every person and persons, with their ships, armour and ammunition, and other goods,

goods, as shall in an hostile manner, invade, or attempt the defeating or destruction of the said company's settlements, or our subjects inhabiting therein, and upon just cause, to invade and destroy the enemies of the same : And whereas many troubles have of late years arisen in the East-Indies, and the said united company have been obliged, at a very great expence, to carry on war in those parts against the French, and likewise against the Nabob of Bengal, and other princes, or governments, in India, and some of the territories and possessions, goods, merchandize, treasure, and other things belonging to the said united company in India, have been taken from them by the said Nabob of Bengal ; have been since retaken by the ships of war and forces maintained, raised, and paid, by the said united company, in conjunction with some of our royal ships of war and forces, which we have been graciously pleased to send to the East Indies, for the defence and assistance of the said united company, against their enemies, and other territories or districts ; goods, merchandize, and effects, have been conquered and taken from some of the said princes, or governments, in India, at variance with the said united company, by the ships and forces of the said united company alone. And whereas it is expedient for the said united company, in order to enable them to support the great burthen and expence of the war they are now engaged in, and of such wars as they may hereafter have with any of their, or our enemies, in India, and the better to enable them, from time to time, to make peace on terms advantageous to their Trade, That we should make them such

grants, and give them such powers, as hereio after are contained. Now know ye, that we well weighing how highly it imports the honour and welfare of this our realm, and our good subjects thereof, that all fitting assistance and encouragement should be given to the said united company; and in performance of divers covenants, between our royal predecessors and the said company, for granting to them all such further reasonable powers and privileges, as may be adviseable for the better support and improvement of their trade, have of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, DO give and grant unto the said united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, their successors and assigns, all such booty or plunder, ships, vessels, goods, merchandizes, treasure, and other things whatsoever, which since our royal letters patent, of the nineteenth day of September last past, have been, or shall be taken or seized from any of the enemies of the said company, or any of our enemies in the East-Indies, by any ships or forces of the said company, employed by them, or on their behalf, within any places or limits of their trade prescribed to them by any of the charters granted by us or any of our royal predecessors. Provided always, that the said plunder or booty as aforesaid be taken or seized during wars or hostilities begun and carried on in order to right and recompence the said company, upon the goods, estates, and people of those parts, from whom they shall sustain, or shall have just and well grounded cause to fear, any injury, loss, or damage, or upon any other people who

who shall interrupt, wrong, or injure them in their said trade, within the limits of their said charters ; or, who shall, in an hostile manner, invade, or attempt to weaken or destroy the settlements of the said company, or to injure our subjects, or others trading or residing within the said settlements, or in any manner under our protection within the said places or limits. And further provided always, that the booty or plunder as aforesaid be taken in war, hostilities, or expeditions, begun, undertaken, carried on, and compleated by the forces raised and paid by the said company alone, or by the ships employed at their sole expence, saving our prerogative royal, to distribute the said plunder and booty in such manner and proportion as we shall think fit, in all cases where any of the forces by land or sea, of us, our heirs, or successors, shall be appointed and commanded to act, in conjunction with the ships or forces of the said company. And excepting always out of this our grant, all such ships, vessels, goods, merchandize, treasure, and other things whatsoever, which have been or shall be forcibly taken or detained by the enemy from any of our subjects, or others trading or residing within the places or limits aforesaid, under our protection, and which have been or shall be retaken, in consequence of any wars, hostilities, or expeditions as aforesaid, it being agreeable to justice and equity, and to our royal purpose, that the same shall be restored to the original owners respectively, as far as may be, on payment of reasonable salvage. And further we have, of our like especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere moun, given and granted, and by these presents,

for

for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant unto the said united company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, their successors and assigns, that the said united company, their successors, and assigns, shall and may, by any treaty or treaties of peace made or to be made between them, or any of their officers, servants, or agents employed on their behalf, and any of the Indian princes or governments, cede, restore, or dispose of any fortresses, districts or territories, acquired by conquest from any of the said Indian princes or governments during the late troubles between the said company and the Nabob of Bengal, or which shall be acquired by conquest in time coming: Provided always, that the said company shall not have any power or authority whatsoever to cede, restore, or dispose of any settlements, fortresses, districts, or territories conquered from the subjects of any European power, without the special licence and approbation of us, our heirs and successors. And we do, for us, our heirs and successors, grant and declare, that these our letters patent, or the enrolment thereof, shall be in and by all things valid and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, and shall be taken, construed and adjudged in the most favourable and beneficial sense for the best advantage of the said company, as well in our courts of record, as elsewhere, notwithstanding any nonrecital, misrecital, defect, incertainty, or imperfection in these our letters patent. Witness Ourself at Westminster, the fourteenth day of January. By writ of Privy Seal.

Almost

Almost all the Europeans resident in India kept their palanquin, till lord Clive absolutely forbid this piece of Eastern luxury, already prohibited by the company, to their youngest servants. He enforced the sumptuary laws by severe penalties, and gave the strictest orders that none of those young gentlemen should be allowed even to have a roundel boy, whose business is to walk by his master and defend him with his roundel or umbrella from the heat of the sun. The expence attending a palanquin is no less than thirty pounds sterling a year. These orders, no doubt, were given with a view of preserving oeconomy among the young people; whose circumstances were supposed not able to support such expences, and whose extravagancies in this and many other particulars had occasioned their contracting such debts with the natives, as they were not able to discharge. So far it may be allowed, that lord Clive acted very laudably to execute the company's regulations in this respect; but at the same time as it is almost impossible for a gentleman, just arrived from England to walk ever so little a distance, without getting an inflammatory fever; was it only from a motive of humanity, it is to be wished, that the company would, at their own expence allow all their servants not only the use of umbrellas, but also of palanquins; since it must always be judged a duty incumbent on the constituents to take as much care as possible of the lives of their dependants in any of our distant settlements, but more especially in this unhealthy part of the world.

Sometime after lord Clive's arrival in India he was complimented by an ambassador of the Mogul, who

who made him a present of an elephant of a stupendous size, richly caparisoned. This animal was a native of Ceylon, reckoned the largest breed in the known world. We hope a particular description of this sagacious quadrupede, the warlike and stately carrier of the princes of Indostan, will be entertaining to our readers. His body is heavy and gross, generally of a dark dirty colour; and though when arrived at full growth, he is from twelve to fourteen feet high, and from eighteen to twenty in circumference, yet his head is still large in proportion; and what is more extraordinary, his eye is no bigger than that of an hog, which it exactly resembles. His legs are like four large columns, rather long than short, and jointed like a cat's just above the feet, which are round at their bottoms, and do not spread much beyond the bulk of the legs. His ears are flat, hanging down, and surprizingly large; the tail is small, but long with a few bristles at the end. At the two corners of his mouth grow two large tusks of teeth, which are what we call ivory; these are longer in the male elephant than in the female; but the most extraordinary part of this animal is his proboscis or trunk, which is long and hollow like a trumpet, and serves him instead of a hand to feed himself, being able to move it with incredible agility and strength, and to take up therewith the smallest thing from the ground, by means of a little point, which he can twist round it. Cicero in the second book of the nature of the gods says, *manas data elephantis, gura propter magnitudinem corporis difficilis aditus habebant ad pectus*. His common food is leaves of trees, grass, corn and sugar canes, of which

which last he is particularly fond. Notwithstanding the unwieldiness of this beast, his motions are very alert, and he walks with great ease, fast enough to keep a man on a good run. Many incredible stories are related by ancient authors of the docility and ingenuity of this half reasoning animal; they are said to be susceptible of affection, fondness, gratitude and modesty. There is nothing but they might be taught: an author of veracity, relates that he had seen an elephant dance with two cymbals fastened to his legs, which he touched alternately in cadence with his trunk, and that many others of the same species gamboled round him, keeping time with an astonishing exactness.

Pliny speaking of the elephant which carried Porus in the battle he fought against Alexander the Great, tells us, that perceiving his master quite sinking under the wounds which he had received, he lowered himself that he might set his master down without hurting him, and pulled out the arrows which stuck in him with his trunk: at length perceiving him to faint through loss of blood, he placed him again upon his back, and conveyed him in safety to the camp: a most amazing instance of the docility and gratitude of the elephant. No wonder therefore that the ancients made use of them in war, and sometimes with great success; but since the invention of fire-arms they have not been found of equal use as formerly, for they are remarkably terrified at fire, and will at the sight of it, frequently turn back upon their friends, and overthrow every thing that stands in their way: they are chiefly used at present for the fording deep
P P
rivers,

rivers, and carrying over the baggage on their backs. After the keepers have loaded them with several hundred weight, they fasten ropes to them, of which the soldiers taking hold, either swim or are drawn across the river. In time of action they now and then fix an heavy iron chain to the end of their trunks, which they whirl round with such agility, as to make it impossible for an enemy to approach them at that time. Another use they still have for this creature in war, is to force open the gates of a city or garrison which is closely besieged. This he does by setting his backside against them, riggling backwards and forwards with his whole might, till he has burst the bars and forced an entrance; to prevent which, most of the garrisons in this country, have large spikes stuck in their gates that project to a considerable distance. However after all, those prodigious animals are kept more for shew and grandeur than for use, and their keeping is attended with a very great expence, for they devour vast quantities of provision; and you must sometimes regale them with a plentiful repast of cinnamon, of which they are excessively fond. It is no uncommon thing with a Nabob, if he has a mind to ruin a private gentleman, to make him a present of an elephant, which he is ever afterwards obliged to maintain at a greater expence than he can afford. By parting with it he would certainly fall under the displeasure of the grandee, besides forfeiting all the honour which his countrymen think is conferred upon him by so respectable a present.

The commerce of the Indies depended anciently in a great measure upon elephants. The image of

of this creature is depicted on the walls of the Pagodas and places of worship in Indostan. The natives pay a sort of adoration to him, as being endowed with a greater sagacity than themselves, and therefore pray to him for a portion of his wisdom. The Indians relate another instance of the docility of those creatures, that in marching with an army, they gather up every stick of size they meet with on the road; which towards the evening is sometimes increased to a faggot large enough to dress all the provisions for that night. They generally stand under the shadow of some spreading tree, to prevent them being stung by the little ant, which notwithstanding their gigantic size and bulk, is a great terror to them. To prevent his crawling about them, they are continually taking up dust or sand in their trunk, and throwing it over their heads and backs; they sometimes take a whisp of straw or grass, and brush themselves down with it behind, whilst with their bristly tail they sweep their foreparts. When you first approach them, they are taught by their keeper to make their obedience to you; which is done by falling almost backwards, and making a prodigious cructation or rattling in the throat, not much unlike the first breaking of thunder. The keeper then mounts his shoulders, which he could not possibly do without the elephant's assistance, who for that purpose crooks one of his legs: the keeper's first step is made on his lower joint, the next on his knee, and he then springs upon his back, laying hold of the flap of his ear. After the elephant has performed many tricks at the word of command, then to shew you how capable he is of picking up

the most minute thing with his trunk, you are desired to lay a silver fanan, a piece worth three-pence, upon the ground. this, which is the smallest of all coins, the elephant feels about till he finds, then takes hold of it and gives it to the keeper, seated upon his back. He last of all throws out his trunk to its full length, by way of shaking hands with you. Whenever they drink, they always first stir the water, and make it fowl with their feet. The reason for doing this is, that the gravel or small stones which they hereby swallow, help to digest their food. One more particular relating to these animals, is their surprizing age: Philostrates in his life of Apollonius Tyaneus says, that he saw the very elephant on which Porus rode in the battle against Alexander, that elephant must have been above 400 years of age. That they live between five and three hundred years is strongly believed, and it is certain they are in full vigour at much above an hundred.

The natives catch the elephant by the following method: they have two places strongly inclosed; one contains several acres of land, the other is but small: when they intend to hunt, which they always do in the night, they go in a large company, with each man a vessel of fire on his head. As soon as the elephant sees the light, he pursues; the man that is singled out runs into the large inclosure, there he drops his fire, and retires to a tree; the elephant presently employs himself in trampling and scattering about the fire. When they have a sufficient number of them in the large inclosure, they shut up the first passage, and then decoy the elephants one by one into the small place, where they

they get ropes about them; and by the help of some elephants, carries them home. Sometimes however the men are overtaken before they reach the inclosure, when they throw down the fire, and fly to the next tree for security.

In the year 1764, Sujah al Dowlah was conquered by the East India company, whose servants took possession of, and divided his country, giving Illahabad and other parts to the Mogul Shah Allum, and themselves reserving for the company the zemindary, or jurisdiction of Gharipoor and Bernares, where they established a factory under a chief and council and raised the revenues for two years.

In August 1765, lord Clive thought proper for very forcible reasons to reverse this system, and restore him to a part of his dominions: but the strong fortress of Chunangur, which commands the passage of the Ganges into his territories, the key of the country, was garrisoned by the English troops, which fort they retain to this day.

The Great Mogul Shah Allum his master, as he was afterwards called, resided at Illahabad under the care and protection of general Smith and Sir Robert Barker, alternately accompanied with a brigade of the company's troops more formidable than the whole army that beat him at the battle of Buxar, when in the meridian of his glory, and joined by Cossin Ali Khan with his artillery and eight battalions of disciplined seapoys.

As we are desired by our readers to inform them with the ceremonial observed between the Indian princes and the commanders by sea and land of the Europeans, we shall mention here the particulars of the interview of the admirals Watson and Pocock,

cock, with Mahomet Ally, Nabob of Arcot in 1755. The late promotion of these two gallant officers to the red and white flags, had given universal satisfaction to the officers of the marine department, the king's troops and the company's land forces; as the two admirals had carried themselves towards them all with that politeness and affability which are always sure to gain respect and affection. Whilst the English squadron lay at Fort St. David, Mahomed Ally the ill-fated Nabob of Arcot, (in whose interest the company was engaged) arrived in the neighbourhood. As soon as he drew near the boundaries, colonel Aldercron with a captain's guard, immediately waited upon him; as did the same day Mr. Starke the deputy governor of St. David's, and his whole council. The next morning the admirals Watson and Pocock, with the several captains, lieutenants, and midshipmen of the squadron made him a visit; admiral Watson having first given him notice of their intention, and the Nabob in return sending word he was ready to receive them. The ceremonial observed upon this occasion was, the admirals, captains and lieutenants were carried in palanquins two and two a-breast. The number of midshipmen indeed was so great, that no palanquins could be got for them; they therefore walked on foot, four and four a-breast, at the head of the palanquin's, dressed in their uniforms, and with their swords. The admiral's secretary, chaplain, and a few other staff officers of the squadron closed the procession. At their coming within a small distance of the Nabob's camp, they were met by his captain-general, who was sent out in compliment to the admiral, and who presently

sently conducted him to the Nabob's tent: at the entrance of which he stood, and received Mr. Watson with great politeness, embracing him at the same time in his arms. The admiral immediately, presented to him his brother officer Mr. Pocock, and after him, the captains, lieutenants, and midshipmen, acquainting the Nabob as he received them severally to his embraces, in what character they stood. When this first ceremony was over, the Nabob shewed them the several apartments of his tent; placed admiral Watson on a wooll-pack which made his seat somewhat more raised than the rest. At Mr. Watson's left hand Mr. Pocock was seated; and to the left of him the captains, lieutenants, &c. On the admiral's right hand the Nabob placed himself, and next him were ranged in order the several officers of his court.

The Nabob was about forty years of age and of a middle stature. His complexion was much lighter than that of a common Indian; his dress was entirely white, and consisted of a long robe or vestment which reached down to his heels. His turban was also white and quite plain. In short he had no other mark of distinction about him, but that of a truly majestic countenance tempered with a great deal of pleasantness and affability. The admiral (by means of an interpreter, congratulated the Nabob on his seeing him in such good health, and assured him that he was particularly happy in having this opportunity of paying him personally these marks of friendship and esteem which he had long entertained for him, on account of his excellent character. To this compliment of
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the admiral the Nabob made a very handsome reply. Mr. Watson said, that he was extremely concerned for the calamities which the Nabob's country had experienced in the late war; but he hoped better times were now coming on, which would more than compensate for all past misfortunes. The Nabob in the Eastern style replied, "it is true sir, that I have suffered much, but the remembrance of those troubles is no more; the heavens have made me ample amends for all these misfortunes in the honour I receive from your visit, Mr. Watson with a heart full of honesty, and with a countenance which spoke the sincerity of his soul, assured him, that the thing he most passionately wished for, was an occasion to do him service; and that it was principally for this purpose, the king his master had sent him with his squadron into the Indian seas. The Nabob appeared greatly pleased with the frankness of this declaration, and immediately turning to the several officers of his court, he repeated to them the admiral's words, and they too, upon hearing them, did not fail to partici-
pate in the joy of their master.

The Nabob upon this occasion ordered a rich perfume of what is called the otto of roses to be brought to him, a few drops of which he put into his hands, and having himself opened the bosom of Mr. Watson's shirt, he rubbed the same over the admiral's breast. This was intended as the highest honour he could confer upon him. He afterwards did the same to admiral Pocock; and his treasurer, performed this ceremony on all the other officers: bettel nut and chunam were then most plentifully
distrib-

distributed, and showers of rose water fell upon all. Mahomet Ally then solicited Mr. Watson to give him leave to make him a present, which the latter nobly declined, repeating to him, "that the king of Great Britain had sent him thither to do the Nabob's service, and to secure to him his country from the attacks of all his enemies, but could never think of distressing him by accepting presents, which he very well knew, in the present circumstances of things could be but ill spared. He concluded with desiring him always to look upon him as his sincere well wisher, who would be glad to shew him those real marks of friendship which his king and countrymen had for him, and of the attention which they paid to his interests. The Nabob appeared extremely surprised at this uncommon strain of generosity in the admiral, though at the same time he could not be displeased with it. They parted soon after exchanging a more familiar embrace than what they had given each other at the first meeting. Mr. Watson returned to the fort with his whole company which consisted of above one hundred persons, and all had the honour of dining with him.

The day following captain Haslop, a brave and experienced officer, and commandant of his majesty's artillery, waited upon the Nabob, accompanied with almost all the officers in that department, and they all met with a most gracious reception.

Of all the princes of the Deccan, none was so free from the faults of the country as this Nabob, having always experienced the invariable friendship of the English, he had been taught the true

value of honour and constancy, and throughout his conduct manifested uncommon gratitude and fidelity to his engagement. The sums which the company had expended in the support of his cause, instead of raising in him the expectation of being farther burthen some to them, lay like a heavy weight upon his mind ; and the distress he was in for money, with the impossibility of paying any considerable part of his debts to the company, visibly affected his health : his brothers who accompanied him, having a separate command, would each of them keep up as many attendants, and as large an expence as the Nabob himself. Exhausted by this ill-timed profusion, he was not able to furnish the workmen and materials with which he had engaged to supply our engineers for completing their fortifications ; nor even to find money for his own troops to prevent them from disbanding. Upon consideration of this state of the Nabob's affairs it was prudently determined to take an exact account of his revenues, which were mortgaged to the company, in order to judge what sums were actually forthcoming for their use, after a due proportion should be allotted, for the maintenance of himself and the support of his dignity.

It was at the same time recommended to him, to settle as soon as possible at Arcot, his capital, with all his family, as well to save expence, by reducing their several retinues to one household, as for the credit of his government. But it was of great consequence to his revenues, before he left the countries of Madura and Tanevelly, which used to produce an immense income, to collect the
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tribute, which had not been paid during the troubles, and also to induce the several Polygars, and all subordinate governors to acknowledge the Nabob's right, by receiving grants from him for the countries they held under his government. From these considerations, an expedition was ordered into the Madura and Tinevelly countries to collect the revenues, under the command of Alexander Heron, lieutenant colonel in the king's service, and major of the company's forces, attended by Mr. Maunsell, to act together with the Nabob's agent, as commissaries for the administration of the money received. Colonel Heron had very little advanced the company's affairs by his conduct at Madura and Tinevelly. The money he collected did not amount to the charges of his expedition, and the terror of his army was so little respected in the country, that Misane, the governor of Madura, having cut off a party that was sent to surprize him, had the boldness to come to the very gates of Tinevelly, while the army was there, and plunder the villages around. Lieutenant colonel Heron was tried by a court martial for misconduct in this expedition. It was proved that he had entered into a private agreement with the Nabob's brother, which reflected a disgrace upon his military character.

In the visit which the Nabob made to the two admirals, he came from his camp to within half a mile of the fort, seated on the back of an elephant. He was accompanied by two most beautiful boys, his sons, who rode on the same animal, and whom he afterwards introduced to the admirals. Nine other elephants were loaded with his grandees, do-

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mestics, and band of music. His train consisted of ten or twelve camels, besides four hundred horses, five thousand seapoys, and perhaps ten thousand spectators. As soon as he came near the fort he alighted from his elephant, and then got into his palanquin of an uncommon magnificence; the bed and cushion being embroidered and inlaid with gold. The admirals met him at the entrance of the fort, and as they were now well acquainted, they familiarly embraced him, and led him up the stairs into the great room designed for his reception, where he was placed between them, on a seat covered with crimson velvet cushions embroidered with gold. The Rev. Mr. Cable at the admiral's request, had put on his canonical dress, and the nabob perceiving that he was uncommonly attired, seemed very desirous of knowing who he was. Upon being informed that he was the admiral's chaplain, he made him a second salaam, or bow, and desired much that his own faquier might be introduced to him, who entered presently afterwards in his apostolic habit. He had a kind of white cloth that went round his loins, and another of a coarser sort flung carelessly over one shoulder. He had no turban, and his hair was tied in a knot behind, while his beard hung down almost to his middle; he wore a sort of sandals on his feet, and loose iron chains about his legs; he had something very wild and staring in his looks, and indeed none are admitted into this particular order, without having manifested some degree of enthusiasm and madness. The two holy men congratulated each other on their respective office, and then seated themselves with the rest of the company. The

Nabob

Nabob was saluted by the guns of the fort ; and all the officers and troops of the garrison were under arms upon the occasion : the several ships of the squadron likewise fired upon a certain signal being given to them from the fort. The Nabob attentively eyed these last, and seemed much pleased with the view of them, though they lay at their anchors at three miles distance from St. David's. The Indian customs differ so much from our's in regard to eating, that the admiral could not ask the Nabob to dine with him. Having taken leave of the admirals, he directed his course to the water-side, where he had ordered his tents to be pitched, that he might entertain himself with a sea prospect. After dinner he returned colonel Aldercron's and the governor's visits, and the next day that of captain Haslup. Some of his grandees and generals having been on board the admiral's fleet, they gave him so pleasing an account of it, that the Nabob resolved to go on board himself; and accordingly, having signified his design to the admiral, the latter appointed next morning for attending him to the fleet.

The Nabob came accordingly, and passed thro' the swell in the boat, and after he got on board, heard the ship salute him without any surprise or emotion at their noise. Admiral Watson led him by the hand to every part of the vessel. He was very inquisitive, and made many pertinent remarks on so vast, so curious, and wonderful a machine; but above all other things, the lower deck battery, which consisted of 28 guns, carrying balls of 32 pounds, struck him with astonishment. The admiral perceiving this, ordered the gunner to exercise

cise a few of the cannon as in the time of an engagement. The Nabob appeared greatly pleased with this and the other different manoeuvres within the ship; and afterwards retiring to the great cabin, the admiral told him, he would now give him a view of a man of war under sail, and accordingly threw out the tyger's signal to chace to windward. Captain Latham having had previous notice of the admiral's intention, immediately stopped his cable, set his sails, and worked to windward, and as he passed the Kent's stern, saluted the Nabob with his cannon. This added greatly to the satisfaction he had before felt, and he expressed himself thoroughly sensible of the honour that had been done him. Both the admirals accompanied him when he went ashore, and on his leaving the ship the whole squadron fired together. The yards were manned at the same time, and the sailors gave three hearty cheers. This general acclamation gave the Nabob a particular pleasure, and he ordered the interpreter to tell the admiral it was "Truly warlike." The admiral's waited on the Nabob to his tent, where they parted, after exchanging reciprocal professions of esteem and friendship for each other.

As Mr. Watson represented his Britannic majesty; he was dispensed from the humiliating ceremony, of pulling off his shoes, according to custom, at entering the Nabob's tent. Upon the day, the Nabob returned Mr. Watson's visit, the admiral engaged a set of women, who are called dancing girls, upon every joyful occasion. Their movements are more like tumbling, or shewing postures than dancing. Their dress is thin and light, and their

their hair, necks, ears, arms, wrists, fingers, legs, feet, and even the toes are covered with rings of gold and silver, made after a clumsy manner. They wear two rings in their noses, and by their staring looks and odd gesticulations, they look more like mad women than morris-dancers. The band of music that attends them is composed of three or four men, who hold two pieces of bell-metal in their hands, with which they make an incessant noise; another man beats what he is pleased to call a drum, and the vocal music consists in two singing men. These dancing girls are sometimes made use of in their religious ceremonies; they are selected for their superior beauty, and very profitable to the priests, who prostitute them to all comers.

According to our plan, to do justice to all the commanders by sea and land in the last Indian war, a retrospect of some remarkable particulars of the brave, the generous, the humane and truly well-bred admiral Watson, cannot but please whomsoever is affected by great and noble deeds.

The company allowed the admiral and his principal attendants palanquins, over and above the five pagodas a-day (two pounds sterling) which were given him to defray the expences of his table. As the Indian horses are of little value, and yet very scarce, oxen are frequently made use of in their stead; the admiral had a chaise and pair of these oxen allowed him also by the company. They are commonly white, have a large pair of perpendicular horns and black noses.

The barbarous custom of offering up the wife to the manes of her dead husband, still exists among
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the Indians. Admiral Watson and several other gentlemen of his Squadron were present at one of these sacrifices, and were all greatly affected at the sight. Mr. Watson discovering, as he imagined, some signs of reluctance in the woman, while she was advancing towards the funeral pile, ordered his interpreter to go and ask her, whether she devoted herself voluntarily to the flames? assuring her that if she was compelled to do it, he would interpose and save her. He desired, that she would unreservedly speak the real sentiments of her heart; that if she chose to live, she had only to say so; that he would take care to secure her from the resentment of the Bramins on one hand, and from the reproaches of her relations on the other; and settle so ample a provision upon her, that for the future she should be enabled to live quite independent of her family, and enjoy every comfort of life. The poor woman was by no means insensible of the admiral's kindness; she desired the interpreter to return him her most grateful thanks, but withal to assure him, that she was about to die both voluntarily and chearfully. She soon afterwards placed herself at full length on a plat form which had been erected for the purpose; folded her arms round the neck and breast of the corpse, and with the greatest tranquillity and composure continued the embrace until both their bodies were covered with the fire-wood heaped upon them. Then their nearest relation put fire to the pile, which was no sooner lighted, than the Bramins, seconded by the multitude, made a loud noise, and continued it as long as they supposed any life could remain in the victim. This was done probably to prevent the woman's shrieks from

from being heard. The admiral and the company left the place with exceeding dejection of spirits; while the natives (more especially the Bramins) rejoiced and triumphed in this diabolical rite.

Soon after the reduction of Geriah, admiral Watson took an opportunity of visiting the unfortunate captives, Angria's two wives and both his children; the interview between them was beyond measure affecting. Upon his entering their house, the whole family made a grand salaam; or reverential bending of their bodies, touching the very ground with their faces, and shedding floods of tears. The admiral desired them to be comforted, adding, "that they were now under his protection, and that no kind of injury should be done them;" they then again made the salaam. The mother of Angria, though strongly affected with these testimonies of kindness and humanity, yet could not help crying out "That the people had no king, she no son, her daughters no husband, the children no father." The admiral replied, "that from henceforward they must look upon him as their father and their friend." Upon which the youngest child a boy of about six years old, sobbing, said, "Then, you shall be my father," and immediately took the admiral by the hand, and called him father. This action of the child was so very affecting, it quite over-poured that brave and generous man's heart, and he turned from the innocent youth for a while, to prevent the falling of these tears, which a tender pity forced from his sobbing breast. At their own request, he permitted them to remain in Geriah.

The admiral who delighted in acts of equity ordered captain Coote, whom he had appointed governor of the fort of Calcutta to take care that no disorders should be committed by his majesty's troops, or any other people; but to treat the natives with humanity, and to prevent the plunder of a rapacious soldiery, as such offenders might depend on the severest punishment. Soon after captain Coote had taken possession of the fort, he presented to colonel Clive the order which he had received from the admiral, appointing him governor of the fort. The colonel denied any authority admiral Watson had to appoint an inferior officer to him as governor, and told captain Coote, that he would take on himself the command; and if he offered to obstruct him, or disobey his orders, he would immediately put him under an arrest. The captain desired that he might acquaint admiral Watson with these particulars; to which the colonel consented. Upon this the admiral sent, captain Spence on shore, to know by what authority the colonel took upon him the command of the fort; who answered, by the authority of his majesty's commission as lieutenant-colonel, and also commander in chief of the land forces. Captain Spence went to the admiral with this answer, and soon returned with a message from Mr. Watson to the colonel, that if he did not abandon the fort, he would fire him out; the colonel replied, he could not answer for the consequences, but that he would not give up his command; but his message implied, that if the admiral would come on shore and command in person, he should have no manner of objection to it; and on admiral Watson's

son's going on shore the next day, the colonel delivered the keys of the garrison into his hands, and then the admiral delivered them to the late governor Mr. Drake and his council.

The following extract of a letter wrote by the admiral Seragah Dowlah Suabaldar of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Nixa, shews his heart and his principles. "Princes and rulers of state, says he, not seeing with their own eyes, nor hearing with their own ears, are often misinformed, and the truth kept from them by the arts of crafty and wicked men; was it becoming the justice of a prince, continued he, to ruin and destroy, (at Calcutta) so many innocent people, as had no way offended, but who relying on the faith of a royal grant, expected protection and security both to their property and lives, instead of oppression and murder, which they unhappily found? are these actions becoming the justice of a prince? nobody will say they are; as great princes delight in shewing mercy." He concluded thus, "Although I am a soldier as well as you, I had rather receive satisfaction from your own inclination to do justice, than be obliged to force it from you by the distress of your innocent subjects."

After the storming of the Nabob's camp, the admiral twisted the olive branch with the laurel, and offered him peace in the following words, which reflect upon him immortal honour. "I was always so averse to hostilities, that even in the midst of victory, I stopt short to listen to the voice of peace. I am still inclined to it, notwithstanding the little prospect of its taking place. However, to take away all blame from me, both in the eyes of

God and man, and to convince the world how much rather I wish to see the happiness of mankind than their misery, I write this

If you really and sincerely mean to treat of peace, listen to the proposals which will be made by the gentlemen who are now with you. They ask nothing but justice, nor mean any thing more than the mutual good of both nations. If you refuse it, remember, that princes are only placed at the head of mankind to procure their happiness, and that they must one day give a severe account, if through ambition, revenge or avarice, they fail in their duty. I have done mine in giving you my advice.

All the dealings of the admiral were stamped with such frankness and sincerity, that the Indians to this day quote him as a pattern of faith and honour. "Will not God," said he, in another letter, the avenger of perjury punish us, if we do not fulfil our oaths. True soldiers and men of honour never violate their words."

The reduction of Chandernagore had cost the lives of many brave young officers of the Admirals Squadron, the Kent had received 138 cannon shot through her sides near the fort, besides being greatly damaged in her masts and rigging. Thirty common men were killed on the spot in her, and 74 wounded. Among the dead was Mr Perreau, the admiral's first lieutenant, who fell in the bloom of youth, unspeakably lamented by all. Captain Speke was dangerously wounded in the leg and the same shot carried off the thigh of his son, who afterwards died of the wound. The number of the slain

slain on board the Tyger, almost equalled those in the Kent. Admiral Pocock was slightly wounded, but Mr. Philips, the master mortally.

Every humane bosom must needs commiserate the death of so many gallant British young men, who fell in this day's action. When admiral Watson had the unhappiness to see both the father and son fall in the same instant, he immediately went up to them, and by the most tender and pathetic expressions, tried to alleviate their distress.

Captain Speke who had observed his son's leg to be hanging only by the skin; said to the Admiral "Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel shot, "to knock down both the father and the son." Mr. Watson's heart was too full to make the least reply. He only ordered them both to be immediately carried to the surgeon. The eyes of the brave youth, overflowed with tears, not for his own, but for his father's fate.

When Mr. Ives, the surgeon, told him he must amputate above the joint, he clapped his hands together, and lifting his eyes in the most devout and fervent manner towards heaven, said "Good "God, do thou enable me to behave in my present circumstances, worthy my father's son." After this ejaculatory prayer, he shewed his resignation and his intrepidity during the operation, for he never spoke a word or uttered a groan that could be heard at a yard distance. The silent trickling tears of the unhappy father, who lay just by his darling son, expressed his feelings better than they can be described. The worthy youth hearing before his death, that his father was out of danger

danger calmly surrendered up a valuable life to his Creator.

The dawn of peace and prosperity in the province of Bengal was overcast by the justly lamented death of admiral Watson, who had retrieved by his courage, conduct and untainted honour, the reputation of the British faith and glory in Indostan.

No man lived more esteemed, or died more regretted than admiral Watson. His corpse was buried at Calcutta, one of the last scenes of his earthly triumphs, and attended by most of the officers in the land and sea service. All the French gentlemen who were then prisoners of war, and several thousands of Armenians and Indians followed him to his grave; there was scarcely an individual among them all that did not shed a tear, or give some other mark of unfeigned sorrow. The universal mourning of the fleet, army and settlements, justified the high opinion of his superior merit, and eminent services.

The admiral had distinguished himself in the early part of his life in divers engagements and was raised without favour or interest, but that of his own merit to the rank he filled in the navy with universal esteem and applause. Before he was appointed to the command of the squadron in the East Indies, he had retired into the country, and engaged again in a life of action for his country's sake. He had a manly, commanding aspect: his temper naturally warm, was the spontaneous flow of beneficence and humanity. His manners was easy, polite, endearing and almost irresistible. His sentiments were noble and generous, and though he was naturally sober and temperate, he promoted at his table

table mirth with decency, and jollity without indiscretion. He excelled in the epistolary stile by an unstudied elegance and charming precision : he had studied men and things more than books, and shewed an amazing sagacity in finding out real characters. Though firm in his resolutions, he was open to conviction, and generously proclaimed the merit of those who had shared with him the success of his successful expeditions. He never introduced into conversation the engagements in which he had been a conspicuous actor and declined with modesty the praises justly due to his gallant conduct and experience in military affairs. He was religious without bigotry, a kind and faithful husband, an affectionate father, a sincere friend, and a good citizen. His integrity, beneficence and disinterestedness were such as to become almost proverbial amongst the natives and Europeans ; the alluring prospect of gain did not weigh with him, when those pursuits were incompatible with the service of his king and country. His ardent zeal : his just and unbiassed sentiments almost without example in the navy, raised the admiration of his exalted character above the shafts of envy and detraction.

Several of our readers having complained, that my account of the battle of Plassey was very superficial. I shall according to their desire, give here a full and authentic account of it.

Serajah Dowlah, after his taking Calcutta, had behaved with such insolence and cruelty towards his own subjects, that several of the grandees of his court entered into a confederacy to depose him. He had displayed the severity of his nature in so many

many instances, as to strike an universal terror ; and from the fickleness of his disposition, no man who was near him, and in his power, could think himself safe. Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, a man of great power and influence (and who had married the sister of Suajah's predecessor and grand-father; Alverdy Khan) conducted the design of depriving the Nabob of that power, he had so egregiously abused ; he was seconded in it by Rogdullub; general of horse, and by Juggerseet, who was a banker to the Nabob, and esteemed the richest merchant in all India. These three leading men soon communicated their designs to Mr. Watts; the English resident at the Darbur or Nabob's court, and he to colonel Clive and the secret committee at Calcutta. The chiefs there did not hesitate long about coming into the scheme. Great dexterity as well as secrecy, being necessary in executing the plan for a revolution, the whole management thereof, was left to colonel Clive, and to Mr. Watts. To avoid suspicion it was necessary that Mr. Watson should not be observed to have a frequent intercourse with Jaffier : he therefore entrusted one Omichand, a Gentoo merchant with the secret, and through him carried on his correspondence with Meer Jaffier. Omichand was a man of the deepest cunning and most insatiable avarice, and strongly suspected to have been the principal person that fomented the late troubles against the English, in hopes of pecuniary advantages to himself : Mr. Watt's did not sufficiently know the man till too late. Omichand after the treaty was so far advanced, that a treaty was just on the point of being signed with Meer Jaffier, unreasonably demand-

demanded a quarter part of all the Nabob's treasure, which was supposed to amount to 64 croze or 80 millions sterling. His final terms were 30 lacks of rupees for himself by especial articles in the treaty ; and he made no scruple to assure Mr. Watts, that if his demand was not complied with, he would instantly inform the Nabob of the schemes, when every Englishman within his reach would certainly be put to the severest death. In this dilemma Mr. Watts applied to Meer Jassier, who was determined not to accede to such terms, if any means of obviating them could be devised. Mr. Watts then wrote to the select committee, who seeing that the fate of all depended upon temporizing with Omichund, and being at the same time very averse to submit to the extortions of such a consummate villain, contrived that two treaties should be executed and sent up to Meer Jassier, who was to be let into the secret. One treaty was the real one to be abided by, the other was fictitious, but with no other difference than that it contained the article of thirty lack for Omichund. The real treaty was executed privately by Meer Jassier ; the fictitious treaty was also executed by him, and in the presence of Omichund, who was thereupon perfectly satisfied. Colonel Clive and all the select committee signed also this fictitious treaty, but admiral Watson who had signed the real one, refused to sign the other. A strict principle of delicacy, which in him was superior to any point of policy, operated too strongly on his mind, to permit him to join in a deception of this nature ; however, all classes of people, from their knowledge of Owi-

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chund's avarice and treachery applauded the artifice by which he was outwitted.

The tennur of the treaty executed by Meer Mahomet Jaffer Khan Bahadar, with admiral Watson, colonel Clive, and the counsellors Drake and Watts, was never to allow the French to settle in the province of Bengal (the paradise of nations) Bahar and Orixá. To pay the English company in consideration of the losses which they had sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta one crore of rupees, (1,250,000) fifty lacks of rupees to the English inhabitants at Calcutta, and twenty lacks of rupees to the Gentoos, Moors, &c. for the effects plundered from them; and seven lacks to the Armenian inhabitants, the distribution of these sums was left to admiral Watson, colonel Clive, messieurs Drake, Watts, Kilpatrick and Becher. The boundaries of Calcutta were enlarged.

Advice having been received from Meer Jaffer and the other confederates, that all things were in readiness with them; the whole army marched forwards and the colonel wrote to Surajah Dowlah: that his excellency had not thought fit to set any value on the friendship of the English, but had in every thing discouraged as much as possible the company's business, intercepted their trade and searching their factory at Cassimbuzar for ammunition and warlike stores, on pretence of their intending an attempt upon his life, in the time of profound peace, threatening them with an instant rupture, if they did not submit to the search. That he granted an open protection to the king's enemies, in allowing to Mr. Law ten thousand rupees

per month, which shewed his intention to fall upon the English, as soon as the absence of their troops and fleet might expose them to his hostile intentions. The colonel complained bitterly of so many insults and infractions. He solemnly declared that his intentions were to have sought for him to the last drop of his blood ; but seeing his excellency had in every respect deviated from his engagements, he had determined with the approbation of all who were charged with the company's affairs, to proceed immediately to Cassimbuzar, and submit their disputes to the arbitration of Meer Jaffer, Rogdullab, Jugget Seet, and others of his great men ; he concluded with telling him, that the rains being so near, it required many days to receive an answer, therefore he had found it necessary to wait upon him immediately.

The English army consisted of 750 infantry, (including 100 Topasses) about 150 of the train, including 50 sailors with seven midshipmen, under the command of lieutenant Hasler, 2100 seapoys, eight pieces of cannon six pounders, and one haut-buitzer. The Europeans and artillery were embarked in boats, and the seapoys marched on to the northward through Hughley. The Bridgewater also sailed up the river as far as that place, to keep it in awe, and to preserve communication between the colonel and the squadron. The admiral, first lieutenant Mr. Clarke, with a detachment of 150 seamen garrisoned Chandeorgora, and the ships effectually secured Calcutta from any kind of insult while a few topasses were appointed to guard the French prisoners.

These measures being taken, the army advanced towards Muxadabad; Mr. Watts and other gentlemen, with fifty soldiers, who had made their escape from Cossimbuzar, arrived at the army; and major Coote was sent forward with a detachment of 200 Europeans, 500 seapoys, one field piece and a hautbuitzer, to reduce Cutwah, a fort belonging to the Nabob, situated on the bank of Cossimbuzar, near about half a mile in circumference. As he was reconnoitring the place, one of the soldiers of the party grown delirious, while in the agony of death, made so great a noise as to discover to the enemy where they were; on which they began a brisk firing, and obliged the major for the present to alter his position; but he presently afterwards made a lodgement on a large bastion, and the next day, after some opposition, the enemy abandoned the fort, and left to the conqueror 14 pieces of cannon of different calibers, and a large quantity of grain and ammunition.

When the army was within two days march of Manadabad, colonel Clive having received some disagreeable advices from Meer Jaffier, summoned a council of war upon the occasion, and in consequence of their resolution, the colonel halted where he was, and sent an express to Calcutta, desiring fresh orders: 'however,' the same evening he received a second message from Meer Jaffier, assuring him of his due performance of the articles mentioned in the treaty, but informing him that he was so surrounded with spies, as to be obliged to act with the greatest caution. This intelligence soon determined the colonel to push on, and without waiting for any instructions from Calcutta, he gave

orders

orders for the army to hold themselves in readiness to march the next morning, when leaving a subaltern officer with all the sick at Curwah, he broke up his camp, and marched towards the enemy, through water almost to the soldiers' middles, the rainy season being now set in. The army having crossed the river, reached Plassey grove, after a very fatiguing march, and through a whole night's rain. Advice having been brought to the colonel, on his arrival at the grove, that the Nabob's vanguard, consisting of 6000 men was within three miles of our army, he ordered an advanced guard of 200 Europeans and 300 seapoys, with two pieces of cannon, to post themselves at Plassey house, and several guards of seapoys at proper distances from each other round the grove. At day-break of the 23d of June, the Nabob's army was perceived marching out of their lines towards the grove, which we were in possession of. Their intention seemed to surround the English. The colonel hereupon formed his army; the Europeans he divided in four divisions; the first he put under the command of major Kilpatrick, the second under major Grant, the third under major Coote, and the fourth under captain Gaupp. The seapoys were formed on the right and left. Plassey grove is surrounded by a bank; our army's left flank was covered by Plassey house and river, and the right flank by the grove.

The enemy's army kept on marching towards ours in deep columns, supported by a large train of artillery, consisting of 53 pieces of cannon, chiefly of 18, 24, and 32 pounders. Their manoeuvres upon this occasion, differed materially

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from those they had been accustomed to ; for instead of posting their artillery all together as was their usual practice, they dispersed them between the divisions of their troops, and not above two or three pieces of cannon on a spot : so that an attack upon any one part of their artillery could not have been decisive. In this order they continued marching as far as the river would permit ; but as soon as their rear was out of the camp, failing in their plan to surround us, they halted ; and a body of about 50 French, advancing in front of a large detachment of their army, commanded by Meer Modun one of their principal generals, with four pieces of cannon, lodged themselves within the banks of a tank or pond of water, distant from us about 600 yards, and began a brisk cannonade.

The English army was first drawn up without the bank which surrounded the grove, but soon found such a shower of balls pouring upon them from the enemy's cannon, that the colonel thought proper they should retire under cover of the bank leaving two field pieces without, while the other four were kept playing through the breeches in the bank. Our left wing was still covered by Plassey house, which was about fifty yards distant, and close to the river side.

In this situation both armies remained till about 12 o'clock, when a heavy shower of rain falling, the enemy's horse advanced, as to take advantage of it, but when they found that our field pieces continued firing notwithstanding the rain, their ardour was checked ; the rain ceasing, the cannonading continued till about three in the afternoon, when they retired without confusion to their old camp.

camp, their artillery marching first. And now a large corps on the left of our troops, was seen moving in such a manner as to make it doubtful, whether their aim was to possess themselves of the village to the left against us, or whether they were friends and wanted to join our army; but they proved afterwards to be friends under Meer Jassier's command; however (as no signal had been agreed on owing to the miscarriage of a messenger which he had dispatched to the colonel on the morning) they were kept at a distance by our field pieces; after this retreat of the enemy, colonel Clive, leaving orders with major Kilpatrick, to send him notice if the Nabob should make any new motions, went into Plassey house to put on dry cloaths, and consider whether, notwithstanding the fatigue which his troops had already undergone, he should pursue the blow, by an immediate attack upon the Nabob's camp, or defer it till night, when he judged from past experience, the success would be certain.

During this interval, information was brought to the colonel; that a detachment of our army, with some field pieces, was marching towards the before-mentioned tank and eminence, at about the distance of 600 yards, which had been possessed by the French, but who abandoned it when the army of Serajah Dowlah, retired to their camp. Colonel Clive expressed his surprize, that such a step should have been taken without his orders, and immediately hastened after the detachment, which he reached nearly at the same time they arrived at the tank. He now found that this detachment was commanded by major Kilpatrick, whom he at first ordered under

under arrest for such unmilitary skill and conduct in an officer of experience, but was pacified by the traitor's making him an apology.

The colonel then ordered major Kilpatrick to the grove, and took the command of the detachment himself, resolving since such a step had been taken, not to make any retreat, but rather to bring on a decisive action, he therefore ordered a reinforcement from the main body in the grove, upon which major Coote with his detachment joined the colonel, who then sent the king's grenadiers, and a grenadier's company of scapoys to lodge themselves behind a bank that was close upon the enemy's lines, from whence they kept a continual fire with their small arms, as did the detachment at the tank with four pieces of cannon.

In the meantime the enemy's infantry and cavalry advanced to wards our several detached bodies of troops, and endeavoured to bring their heavy artillery to bear, but they met with so warm a reception, and lost so many draught oxen and drivers, that they failed in their attempt. When the infantry and cavalry had faced our troops for some time, and stood a very smart cannonading, in which they lost a great number of men and horses, it was observed they were in some confusion, and that their elephants grew very unruly, the colonel took immediate advantage of this critical moment, and sent orders to major Coote to attack a large body of horse and foot, upon a rising ground, at about the distance of 150 yards, and ordered another officer at the same time to storm the angle of the camp. Both these attacks succeeded, the enemy making but faint resistance, major Coote marched

into their lines and a general rout ensued. Mr. Sheraditch, a midshipman of the Kent, was dangerously wounded as he was eagerly advancing to shoot one of the French officers in the Nabob's army. The assailants pursued till it was dark, and then halted at Doudpaze, a place about six miles distance from the field of battle, where they were joined by the rest of the army from Plassey-grove, under major Kilpatrick, who at the commencement of the rout, received orders from the colonel to march. The Nabob's army was computed to consist of 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot, our loss was very inconsiderable; but the enemy had about 500 men killed, among whom was Meer Modun, whose death was the occasion of the confusion just mentioned; besides three elephants and a great many horses. Their 53 pieces of cannon fell into our hands, with their camp, baggage, elephants, &c..

While our army was pursuing, a large body of horse was observed on our right: after firing a few shot at them, a messenger arrived with a letter from Meer Jassier to the colonel, acquainting him that the corps was under his command, and requesting an interview the next morning. Accordingly the colonel met him the next day, and having congratulated each other on this victory, he declared himself ready to perform the articles of the treaty between them. The colonel saluted him as Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar and Orixas, and advised him to advance immediately to Muxabadad after Serajah Dowla, promising that he would follow to support him with his whole force. The late Nabob reached his capital, which was 20 miles dis-

tant from the field of battle, a few hours after his defeat. And the next evening, not knowing whom to trust, or what to do, abandoning himself to his fears, on Meer Jaffier's arrival, he disguised himself in the habit of a Faquier, and with one or two attendants attempted to make his escape. Meer Jaffier immediately entered the palace, where all was anarchy and confusion; but Messieurs Watts and Walsh arrived to pacify the inhabitants, and assure them of the colonel's protection: and on the 24th of June colonel Clive himself made his public entry into Muxabadad. Meer Jaffier visited him the next day, and the 29th colonel Clive went to the palace, and in the presence of the Rajahs and grandees of the court, he solemnly handed him to the Masnud or carpet, and throne of state, where he was unanimously saluted Nabob, and received the submission of all present, he afterwards punctually fulfilled the several articles stipulated in the treaty, and conferred upon the company, the navy, and the army the most liberal rewards.

On the 3d of July, Serajah Dowlah, the late Nabob, after wandering about forsaken and almost naked, was taken in his way to Patna, near Rosamaul; betrayed it is said by one, whom he had in his prosperity cruelly treated, by causing his ears to be cut off: the next day he was brought back to Muxadabad, and in a few hours afterwards, privately put to death, by Meer Jaffier's eldest son, to whose custody he was committed. Thus European pride and avarice seconded the cruel maxims of eastern policy. His remains were carried in an unmanly triumph on an elephant round the city. He had not quite completed the twenty-fifth year
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of his age, and but the first of his reign ; though perhaps he had merited this fate by his sanguinary disposition, and tyrannical acts, the promoters and perpetrators of this tragedy were equally culpable, as neither of them had a right to sacrifice an independant prince to their detestable selfishness and policy.

The Nabob, after the custom of the East, sent presents to the admiral consisting of an elephant, two fine horses, a rich moorish dress of gold gingham, with turbans and shawls ; and a robe and plume composed of diamonds, rubies, sapphires and emeralds, which though of no great value, made a pompous appearance. Admiral Pocock was also complimented with a present of the same kind. Admiral Watson received the ambassador's on this occasion with marks of great respect ; he made a present of fine cloth and velvet to each in return ; dressed his ships, displaying as many flags of different nations, as could be disposed of on the yards, masts and rigging of the ships ; saluted them with cannon, and wrote a congratulatory letter to the new Nabob.

I hope this minute description of the battle of Plassey and of the amazing revolution, which followed it, will satisfy the curiosity of our readers.

To form an idea of the new arrangements made by lord Clive in his presidency of Bengal, it is proper to insert here a copy of the letter, which he wrote to the Directors of the East India company, before he was appointed to the supreme civil and military command, that we may compare his regulations with the professions of his

Disinterested zeal for their service and prosperity.

To the honourable the Court of Directors for affairs of the United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Gentlemen,

"In obedience to your commands, I now transmit the purport of what I had the honour to represent to you by word of mouth at the last court of directors, with some other particulars which slipped my memory at that time.

Having taken into consideration your letter sent me by the secretary, as also the request of the general court of Proprietors, I think myself bound in honour to accept of the charge of your affairs in Bengal, provided you will co-operate with and assist me in such manner, that I may be able to answer the expectations and intentions of the general court.

As an individual, I can have no temptation to undertake this arduous task; and nothing but the desire I have to be useful to my country, and to manifest my gratitude to this company, could make me embark in this service, attended as it is with so many inconveniencies to myself and to my family.

I cannot avoid acknowledging, that I quit my native country with regret and diffidence on leaving behind me (as I certainly do) a very divided and distracted direction, at a time when unanimity is more than ever requisite for the carrying into execution such plans as are absolutely necessary to the well-being of the company.

I shall now enter into a short discussion of your political commercial and military affairs in Bengal, without searching into the causes of the unhappy revolution in favour of Cossim Ali Khan. I shall only remark, that if the same plan of politics had been pursued after he was placed on the throne, as that which I had observed towards his predecessor, he might with great ease have remained there to this day, without having it in his power to injure either himself or the company, in the manner he has lately done.

Indeed Mr. Vansittart's ideas in politics have differed so widely from mine, that either the one or the other must have been totally in the wrong. Soon after Cossim Ali Khan was raised to his new dignity, he was suffered to retire to a very great distance from his capital, that our influence may be felt and dreaded as little as possible by him; he was suffered to dismiss all those old officers who had any connection with, or dependance upon us; and, what was the worst of all, our faithful friend and ally, Ramnanan the Nabob of Patna, was given up: the doctrine of the subah's independency was adopted, and every method was put in practice to confirm him in it. We need not seek for other causes of the war, for it is now some time that things have been carried to such lengths abroad, that either the princes of the country must in a great measure be dependent on us, or we totally so on them.

That the public and continued disapprobation of Cossim Ali's advancement to the government, expressed by the gentlemen of Calcutta, increased the Nabob's jealousies, is most true, and that it was
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the duty of every one, after the revolution was once effected, to concur heartily in every measure to support it, cannot be denied. It is likewise true, that the encroachments made upon the Nabob's prescriptive rights, by the governor and council, and the rest of the servants trading in the articles of salt, beetle and tobacco, together with the power given by Mr. Vansittart to subject our gomastahs or agents, to the jurisdiction and inspection of the country government, all concurred to hasten and bring on the late troubles; but still the ground work of the whole was the Nabob's independency. It is impossible to rely upon the moderation and justice of Mussulmen; strict and impartial justice should ever be observed, but let that justice come from ourselves. The trading therefore in salt, beetle and tobacco, having been one cause of the present disputes, I hope these articles will be restored to the Nabob, and your servants absolutely forbid to trade in them; this will be striking at the root of the evil.

The prohibition of Dastacks to your junior servants will, I hope tend to restore that oeconomy which is so necessary in your service; indeed if some method is not thought of, and your council do not heartily co-operate with your governor *to prevent the sudden acquisition of fortunes*, which have taken place of late, the company's affairs must greatly suffer. What power it may be proper to invest me with, to remedy these great and growing evils, will merit your serious consideration.

As a means to alleviate in some measure, the dissatisfaction that such restrictions upon the
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commercial advantages of your servants may occasion in them ; *it is my full intention not to engage in any kind of trade myself* ; so that they will divide amongst them what used to be the governor's portion of commercial advantages, which was always very considerable.

As my experience in military matters has arisen from many years practice, I hope, what I have to lay before you on this subject, will have that attention paid to it, which I ardently wish it may for the good of the Company. I would propose, that you should always have in Bengal, four, or at least three thousand Europeans, to consist of three battalions of seven hundred each ; four companies of artillery, of one hundred each, and five hundred light horse. Your forces have done great things and gained great honour ; but much is still wanting to bring them to that due obedience and subordination, which is consistent with the true interest of the service, whilst so many of his majesty's forces were abroad, and so few of your own, two or three field officers in your service might answer the purpose. But now that the king's troops are re-called, you should immediately endeavour to supply the deficiency. I would therefore re-command the appointing three field officers to every battalion, a colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major, and the officers I should chuse to command the battalions, should be major Carnac, captain Richard Smith, and major Preston. You have already done justice to major Carnac's character, by reinstating him in the command of your forces in Bengal, and by acknowledging his services in the most public manner.

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This gentleman will, I flatter myself, stand high in your esteem, as brigadier general Caillaud, and will, I hope, have the same rank and appointments. The military merit of the other two gentlemen you are likewise well acquainted with, having both received from the court marks of approbation for their distinguished services, to command your artillery, I would recommend Sir Robert Barker, whose abilities in that department have been exceeded by no officer that ever was in your service. Your seapoys are already commanded by major Knox, whose merits I could wish to have rewarded with a lieutenant colonel's commission. Your horse, when raised, should be commanded by a lieutenant-colonel or major. I have very strong reasons to wish this idea of regimenting your troops may take place; for without such a subordination I shall not be able to enforce your orders for the reduction of your military expences; which have been a constant dead weight, and have swallowed up your revenues.

I could wish that whatever emoluments are unavoidable may fall to these few, who by having been long, are high in your service, whether civil or military. Thus will the expence be scarce felt by the company, in comparison to what it is at present, when for want of due subordination every one thinks himself entitled to every advantage: and the juniors in your service will be excited to exert themselves, from a certain knowledge that application and abilities only can restore them to their native country with fortunes *honourably acquired*. Before I leave the subject of military affairs, I shall take the liberty to recommend to your consideration my ideas concerning the present method

method of levying your troops in England. It is certain at present, this branch is very irregularly conducted, little regard is had to the choice of the men; they arrive in India undisciplined, and in case of sudden emergencies, which may require a number to be immediately dispatched to India, there are none ready to send; for although this has fortunately not been the case since the conclusion of the peace, the facility of getting men has arisen from the numbers lately dismissed from his majesty's service, but the same difficulties as ever will very shortly commence again, as soon as those disbanded troops have betaken themselves to other employments. I would therefore suggest that the company should apply to his majesty for permission to maintain two battalions of 500 men each in England, of which the whole or any part, with the proper officers may be ready to be shipped at a moment's warning. Justice to the character of two officers, who have rendered the company most important services, alone induces me to recommend that you should pay the compliment of the command of the battalions to colonel Coote and colonel Ford. Although there may appear some difficulties in the executive plan; yet as I do not doubt of the concurrence of the administration to any proposals essentially necessary to the company's interest, I imagine they will give them assistance to so salutary a measure.

The heartburnings and disputes, which seem to have spread and over-run your settlement of Calcutta, arose I much fear originally from your appointment of Mr. Vansittart to the government of Bengal from another settlement, although his pro-

motion was the effect of my recommendation. The appointment therefore of Mr. Spencer from Bombay can only tend to inflame those dissensions, and to destroy all those advantages, which the company can only expect to reap from harmony and unanimity amongst their servants abroad. The resignations of Mr. Verelst, and many others of the senior servants, which must be the consequence of Mr. Spencer's appointment, will deprive me of those very gentlemen, on whose assistance I depend for re-establishing your affairs in Bengal. Mr. Sumner has already come under your consideration, as a fit person to succeed Mr. Vansittart, and on my being proposed to take upon me the government he desired to accompany me as second in council. In justice to Mr. Sumner's merit, I must say, that I think him a very capable servant of the company, and one who I am persuaded will co-operate with me to the utmost of his abilities for the good of the service, nor would I wish him to go abroad with me, were I not convinced I should be able to place him in that degree of confidence and good will with Jaffer Alli Khan, as will certainly be necessary in a person destined to be my successor. I hope, before I conclude, you will be persuaded, *that I can have no interested views in going abroad*. I do not mean to reflect on those who thought proper to reward and distinguish Mr. Vansittart so remarkably, by adding to the usual allowances of the governor two and a half per cent. upon the company's territorial possessions, which made the whole of his appointments more than 20,000l. a year. I shall only say, I think such appointments too great a burthen on the company's estate ;

estate ; and leave it to you, gentlemen, to make me whatever allowance you may think consistent with my station." (He concludes by what I have mentioned before relative to his Jagheer, &c.)

I have the honour to be

Berkley Square,
27th April, 1764.

Gentlemen,
Your most obedient
Humb. servant.
(Signed) Clive."

The editor desirous, that no civil or military transactions in India, which preceded lord Clive's late administration in Bengal or happened in that period, should be hidden from the knowledge of his readers, has the happiness to be able to supply them with all the articles of authentic intelligence they may require, in regard to the campaigns of the commanders in Indostan, since the late peace. As they have never been published, he flatters himself to add novelty to instruction, and least his veracity should be impeached, he appeals to all the officers who served under major Adams, brigadier general Carnac, colonel Munro and colonel Smith, as the following narrative is exactly taken from the orderly book of these respective commanders, which has, by a lucky chance fallen into the hands of the author.

The Campaign of Major Adams.

This brave, active and skilful officer, whose long services and an unspotted military character had raised to the command of the East India company's forces, having beat the enemy in the field of

Gurria, and forced their entrenchments at Woodenulla, received intelligence on his arrival at Calgong, that Cossim Alli Cawn, had sent a large detachment from his army, and were in their march by the Chickia pass, to penetrate through the Beerboone into the Burdevan province. In consequence of this information, major Adams on the 19th of September 1763, issued out the following orders.

“ Captain Witchcot with two subalterns and thirty men of his troop, with thirty of Mirza Hussen Beg’s are to march to-morrow morning and join the detachment of the Beerboone province.”
 “ It is also ordered by major Adams that major Carnac do hold himself in readiness to march and take the command of the detachment in the Beerboone province.

The clearness, precision and constancy of the major’s orders, were the dictates of his foresight and judgment.

On the first of October the army encamped at Barampore near Mongheer batteries, which had been raised immediately against that fort. It was the next day delivered up by the enemy, and converted by major Adams into an hospital, for the sick who were disembarked from the boats, under the command of captain Wedderburn. The humane and gallant commander, who knew how to value the lives of those, he thought an honour to lead to glory, having procured in Mongheer fort a comfortable assylum for the officers and soldiers who were not able to march with the army, ordered on the 13th, that “as soon as all the heavy artillery and stores should be shipped for Patna, the
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three companies of captain Maclean's battalion, were to go on board the boats as a guard to convey them."

Captain Wedderburn who commanded a company of volunteers, inhabitants of the town of Calcutta, had been entrusted with the charge of a number of armed boats, designed to protect the hospital, the store and baggage boats. He was ordered to make all the expedition he could to Patna, with the boats under his command, on board of which were the battering canoon, store and the gentlemen's baggage. Mr. Hugins, engineer, having been directed to repair immediately the breach that had been made in Mongheer fort, the most judicious measures were taken, to prevent any obstruction, which the army was likely to meet on their march to Patna. Major Adams had sent on the 11th, captain Stibbert forward with one hundred Europeans, four guns, and two battalions of seapoys to throw a bridge over Shinga nulla; and in the mean time people were sent to repair the bridge at Dura-nulla, that had been cut by the enemy to retard our march.

We marched the 15th of October and arrived the 28th at Jaffier Cawn's gardens, within a small distance from Patna. After a proper survey had been taken of the place, major Knox, the quartermaster general, an officer of distinguished abilities in tactics, and of approved skill in military architecture; to which he had been brought up in Woolwich school, coincided in opinion with the engineers to raise our batteries near the river side, and to make a breach by the north north-east bastion, where the houses of the suburbs were almost

most contiguous to the walls of the fort. In consequence of this determination, our engineers began to erect a battery, without interruption from the besieged, but before it was compleatly finished, a large body of the enemy's best seapoys, made a sally on the 31st of October, from the north-east water gate. Having crept along the banks of the river and got amongst the houses unperceived, they surpris'd the party of seapoys that was lodged in the batteries. As this important post had been committed to an officer, whose military knowledge and vigilance ought to have guarded him against any surpris; it was an unpardonable oversight, luckily repaired by the spontaneous intrepidity of the English seapoys, who behaved like disciplined veterans. But the struggle was unequal, and the superiority of numbers being an over match for the valour of the assailed, the enemy succeeded in blowing up our magazine, and spiked up one of our guns. The firing of musquetry alarmed captain Smith's battalion of seapoys, of which the guard in the battery was a part. They immediately got under arms, marched to the assistance of their companions, drove the enemy from the battery, and followed them to the very gate from whence they had sallied forth. They were ordered back by major Knox, who commanded at the battery, which was reinforced by captain Swinton's battalion.

The enemy made a new attempt on our battery, and were driven again into the fort by the gallant seapoys, against whom an unsuccessful sally was made in their retreat to the battery. Three times were the assailants repulsed with equal advantage and

and intrepidity, and our seapoys in their impetuous fury pursuing the enemy to the very gates of the fort, were so daring that some of them went in to the place without thinking on the danger of their rashness. During these repeated attacks and repulses, the King's and company's grenadiers were got ready. It had been debated in a council of war, whether the present juncture, when the enemy were not yet recovered from their fears and their confusion, was not the most favourable to storm the place by entering at the gate, from which the enemy had sallied forth. The spirited conduct of the seapoys and their present warlike ardour, seemed to countenance this opinion; however, it was thought more prudent to wait till the breach was made practicable. This resolution was perhaps the most judicious, as the enemy had shewn that day an extraordinary courage and activity. Sensible no doubt that Patna was the last stake of their power and security, as the loss of this important place would deprive them of the only tenable fortress they were likely to hold, and oblige them to abandon the country after the surrender of their last asyllum.

During the consultation, the walls of Patna were covered with armed men, who seemed prepared to make a vigorous defence. They kept up a continual fire against our people, with their cannon and with their musketry, in the midst of which the undaunted bravery of our troops appeared most conspicuous, and threw a damp upon the ardour of the enemy, in shewing them what they might expect on a future day. Captain Swinton, captain Goddard and several officers were wounded, and about
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one hundred men, including the serjeants of both battalions were killed and wounded in the two attacks. Captain Swinton suffered the most from the wound he had received in the hollow of the hand, and his own neglect occasioned afterwards the loss of his arm, which on the symptoms of a mortification, was cut off above the elbow. As this gentleman had been brought up to physie, he might have prevented by timely care the consequences of this accident.

In the mean while our operations were carried on with an unrelenting vigour and perseverance, we erected another battery and made a breach to the southward by the river side; scaling ladders were prepared, as we were in doubt of getting in at one of the breaches without this assistance.

The fifth of November a strong party, which consisted of the king's grenadiers commanded by captain Champion, another new company of grenadiers commanded by captain Moran, and five grenadiers companies of seapoys commanded by five lieutenants, under the direction of captain Trevanion, the whole subordinate to major Sherlock, who had the first command in the batteries. The storming party marched from them about three quarters of an hour before day. Captain Irwin with all the European grenadiers and their scaling ladders was to enter at the southern breach, but he found the ditch so full of water, that he could not ford it. As it was not possible to overcome this difficulty, he immediately ordered his grenadiers to throw down their ladders, and to wheel to the right; he entered at the other breach with the seapoys accompanied with captain Trevanion, lieutenants

tenants Duffield and Nicol the other officers of the corps. There was but one man killed in going up. The battery close to the right of the breach fired their cannon several times upon the rear of their storming party ; captain Irwin led his grenadiers from the breach to the right over the walls of the battery ; lieutenant Nicol was the other officer engaged in this hazardous enterprize. Captain Irwin ordered his men not to fire on those in the battery, but to beat them out with bricks ; this was done in a moment, and when a sufficient number of soldiers were lodged in the battery, the captain advanced on a road near the walls towards the east-gate ; just before we reached it the enemy made a stand. The danger and difficulty was to proceed through a door where scarcely two could go a-breast ; this door which led to an opening contiguous to the east-gate, might be about forty yards, the intermediate space was a kind of square with a few thatched houses. Here the gallant captain Irwin, whose military conduct deserved the highest commendation, was mortally wounded, his thigh-bone being broke into pieces with a shot and a rocket. Captain Champion was also wounded and came back limping, supported by a grenadier, at the very time lieutenant Nicol was entering the door. This gentleman, whose skill and bravery had been tried on divers occasions, asked the captain if he was wounded ; he answered in the affirmative, and expressing his apprehensions about the men, whom, he said, were without an officer ; Mr. Nicol sensible that the least delay might be attended with dangerous consequences, asked no more questions, and following the impulse of courage and judgment,

marched on with his seapoys. When he got into the opening betwixt the two doors, he found the men in a state of suspense and inactivity, for want of an officer to lead them; they were seeking for a place where the enemy's fire could not touch them. Lieutenant Nicol, like an experienced commander, immediately formed the men into platoons, with the assistance of lieutenant Crown, advanced in excellent order with recovered arms, fired a platoon into the opening, which led to the East-gate, and pushed through with an amazing conduct and resolution. He ordered the East-gate to be open to let in our army, and on his marching along the walls, resigned his command to lieutenant Scotland his senior officer. But he had not proceeded twenty yards farther before he was wounded. Mr. Nicol continued his march in the same order and celerity in order to get possession of a bastion called Butra-multa. As this post was strongly guarded, the enemy seemed resolved to defend it; they had turned round a large piece of cannon, which we afterwards found was loaded with grape shot. Several of the men having expended all their cartridges called out, they had no ammunition. Mr. Nicol formed them again into platoons, ordered the Havildars to look into the men's cartouch-boxes, as they were marching, and dispatched a serjeant for ammunition. The enemy perceiving that neither their musketry nor the show of their cannon could interrupt our march, which was continued with still more order and rapidity, were struck with a pannick, and in their consternation forgot to fire their cannon. Captain Tre-
yanjon came up at this time, and took the com-
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mand from Mr. Nicol, who performed all parts of this perilous service whilst at the head of the seapoys, with equal success and reputation. The enemy ran from the bastion as fast as they could to the south-east gate. Captain Trevanion took possession of the Burra-Multa, and soon after sent lieutenant Skinner with a party to possess themselves of the south west gate.

Major Adams entered with the whole army at the East-gate, and marching straight through the city of Patna, halted the men a little beyond the West gate, where he gave them a dram and a biscuit.

Captain Trevanion seeing the fort was our own, sent Mr. Nicoll who was adjutant-general to the seapoys, with a small party of them, to collect all the straggling men of that corps together, to prevent all the plunder and outrages of a rapacious soldiery, in obliging them to join major Adams, the commander in chief.

The reduction of this important place reflects immortal honour upon the conduct of the officers, and the valour of the soldiers, who made this acquisition. The greatest loss was that mentioned before in the succeeding attacks; captain Galliez was shot through the body, lieutenant Scotland through the cheek, and some others wounded. The enemy's loss was supposed to be above three hundred, who were found killed within the walls of Patna. After the troops had been a little refreshed, major Adams appointed a proper garrison for Patna, the command of which was given to major Sherlock.

Major Adams marched immediately after this conquest with the army and encamped at Bankipore. On the 10th of November captain Irwin died of his wounds justly regretted by his acquaintances and lamented by his friends. The death of this officer was a real loss to the company. They had raised him to the rank of a major in the service as a reward for his gallant actions ; but he did not live to enjoy this honourable station.

Cossim Ally Cawn had in the city of Patna and its vicinity about thirty thousand men, but the company was in possession of all his fortified places except Rotasgur, where he kept his treasure. He marched with his army towards Dowdnagur : the major having got every thing in order, marched on the 13th in the presence of the fugitive Nabob. The 19th the army encamped at Dowdnagur, where major Adams received information that Cossim Alli Cawn, not trusting to the strong fortress of Rotasgur, for the protection of his treasure had sent for it, and that several camels loaded with this accumulated wealth, were on their march to Sasferam. The major detached captain Smith with his battalion and two six pounders to endeavour to intercept them. But they had gained a march upon the captain, who could not come up with them. The 23d the army crossed the river Soane, and on the fifth of December encamped on the banks of the river Caramnassa, which serves as boundaries to the Nabobship of Bengal to the West. The other side of the river is the country of the Rajah Bulwanfog, a tributary prince to Sujah al Dowlah.

The indefatigable major Knox, who had always given the best intelligence of the country where he had the honour to command, having surveyed a vast tract of unknown territories, transmitted his plans to the governor, who conveyed them to the court of directors, that they might obtain some knowledge of a province, where they carried on an extensive trade, and kept a respectable body of men for its protection. Besides a general cannot be too well acquainted with the face of a country where he leads an army; he should know where he can encamp to advantage, where he can be supplied with water and provisions; if the country he is to go through is open or woody, flat or mountainous, where the rivers are fordable, or have bridges built over them. He is then sure not to be embarrassed when he takes the field, and not to be obstructed on his march by unforeseen accidents. Major Knox was always assiduous in making himself master of this useful knowledge. With this view, when he commanded in the province of Midnapore, from the end of the year 1761, to July 1763, the war against Cossim Ally Cawn, required the exertion of his abilities in the field. He employed Mr. Nicol an active officer under his command to survey the province. Mr. Nicol went as far as Balasore; and when this officer commanded a detachment of seapoys at Beercool towards the end of the year 1762, to prevent the French ships that were cruising in the bay from being supplied with wood, water, and provisions from the towns and villages on the Piply river, he surveyed the mouth of it, according to major Knox's

Knox's directions, who reposed a great confidence in his zeal and assiduity.

This glorious campaign being finished, major Knox availed himself of the opportunity the suspension of hostilities gave him, to make himself more particularly acquainted with the kingdom of Bengal. He then recommended strongly to major Adams, lieutenant Nicol, as a proper person to survey the country. Accordingly on the 8th of December, the major issued out his orders to lieutenant Nicol to hold himself in readiness to go and visit the public roads between the river Caramassá and Calcutta. He executed his commission to the great satisfaction of his commanding officers, and the manifest advantage of the military service.

The 9th of December major Adams delivered up the command of the army to major Knox, and set off for Calcutta. Major Knox who was sick at the beginning of the campaign, with an unexampled zeal and fortitude, had gone through all the toils and fatigues of the field, in a torrid climate, without once going into sick quarters. Finding himself worse, his active spirit was forced to give way to his impaired constitution.

It is impossible to have an exact idea of the measures taken by lord Clive, relative to the king of Dehly, and the princes his turbulent vassals, without mentioning the late revolutions of the Mogul empire, in which the East India company acted a principal part.

Achmed Abdalla, a native of Candahar, chief of the nation called Durannies, in the confusion that ensued *Neder's death*, had usurped all the northern provinces ceded to Persia by Mahomed Shah

Shah, and at last grew very powerful. He had invaded Indostan, and fought several battles with the Marattas, who aspired to the sway of placing a king on the throne of Dehly. Achmed Abdalla on his second invasion gave them a total overthrow, on the 8th of February 1760; but he was pleased to confirm the appointment made by the Marattas, of the young Jewan Buckt to the throne, now circumscribed in authority to the provinces of Dehly; and after settling the annual tribute to be paid by the young nominal king, he put him under the guardianship of Rohilla, one of his creatures. In the meanwhile Ali Gohar of the line of Tamerlane, father of Jewan Buckt, had found means to escape from the prison in which he and several of his brothers had been born at Dehly; and it was at last his good fortune to fall into the hands of the English East India company, and after having experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune, the English company condescended to create him their Grand Mogul. He had in his distress sought for an asylum at the court of Sujah al Dowlah Suhbalder of Oude, who also preferring the independence which the confusion of the empire had enabled him to assume, made the prince Ali Gohar a small present, and desired him to quit his dominions. Sujah al Dowlah was the same prince who in 1764, was conquered and driven out of his dominions by the English company, sometime before the arrival of lord Clive at Calcutta, by whom he was afterwards restored.

The wandering prince next took refuge with Mahomed Kuli Khan Nabob of Illahabad, with whom he concerted a plan for invading the pr-
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vince of Bengal, having before obtained from Al- lum Gheer his father, a grant of that subahship.

Accordingly an army of desperate adventurers and dissaffected Zemindars being collected together, they marched from Illahabad towards Bengal, to take possession of those provinces which in fact the English East India Company governor, then colonel Clive, had taken from the Nabob Serajah al Dowlah, and conferred on Meer Jaffier, one of his officers.

The prince was very unsuccessful in this expedition, and the English in Bengal held him in such contempt, that colonel Clive at the request of his now made subhadar, marched to punish those Rajahs who had joined him. The prince represented to the colonel, " that he had no intention against Meer Jaffier's life or government, that all he aimed at was an army to make head against the visier, and that if it pleased God to favour his cause, the colonel might command any advantages for the company or himself. Col. Clive having communicated this to the Nabob's son and minister's it was unanimously agreed, that it would be dangerous to have a prince of the blood in any of the provinces. The colonel therefore sent back the messenger with a respectful letter and a present of above one thousand pounds sterling; which behaviour so charmed the prince, that he sent word to colonel Clive he would force himself under his protection, and dare him to deliver him up; but the colonel was obliged to answer, that he acted under the subal- dar Jaffier Ali Khan's orders, and would therefore by no means advise him to put himself in his power. Whereupon the prince was obliged to seek
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for some other refuge ; and colonel Clive, to deter the neighbouring princes from any future hostilities in the province of Bengal, thought fit to shew his resentment to Sujah al Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, who had assisted the prince by representing to him, that as he could not but know the inviolable friendships subsisting between him and Meer Jaffier, he wondered he should presume to send forces into his country ; that if he still persisted in sentiments of enmity, he ought to own it frankly ; in which case he would march up after the rains, and appeal to the decision of the sword.

It was not convenient to the English in Bengal at this time to acknowledge the authority of this prince. Things continued quiet in Bengal till the year 1760, that the prince renewed his attempt on this province, and though they always proved unsuccessful, yet they kept the country in trouble and fermentation for near three years ; during which time he offered to the English *carte-blanche*, as appears from the following extract of a letter, from governor Holwell, who succeeded colonel Clive in Bengal, directed to major Caillard, who had then the command of the army. " The situation of the prince at present is such, that I am sure he would readily and thankfully hearken to an overture from us, and without hesitation grant a *firmeur*, appointing the company perpetual Subahdars of the province. His two *firmeurs* to me, offered *Carte-blanche* for the company ; and I dare say that to you was of the same tenor." At last he was reduced to such a complicated distress, that on the eighth of February 1761, he was obliged to surrender himself to the commander of the Bri-

tish forces, major Carnac and Guych in the province of Bahar. During his intercourse with the English, having received advices from Delhi of the assassination of his father Allum Gheer, he made them the most seducing offers to assist him in his favourite scheme of obtaining the throne of Delhi ; but finding that the English would do nothing for him, except the farce of proclaiming him emperor at Patna, he was obliged to seek some other refuge ; therefore he quitted the Bahare province in June 1761. He afterwards applied again for protection to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, who upon this second visit confined him, and kept him a close prisoner, making the same tool of him as Gazi-al-Dean the Marattas and Abdallah had done before of the other princes of the blood.

About the end of the year 1763, the English having expelled Cossim Ali Khan from Bengal, that Nabob had retired with his treasure, and some of his adherents into the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah, whom he at length persuaded to join him in an attempt to recover his Subahship. Accordingly in the month of February 1764, Sujah al Dowlah came down with a considerable force into the province of Bahar, and brought the prince Ali Gohor with him : the English army then under the command of major Hector Munro, an officer of distinguished merit, met them at Buxar, and on the 23d of October 1764, after a very obstinate battle, defeated and pursued Sujah al Dowlah into his own dominions. In his flight he left the prince behind him, who once more threw himself on the English for protection.

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From this period, the English East-India company became possessed of this prince, and availed themselves of the opportunity to make a proper use of him. Having at this time no friends upon whom he could rely even for personal safety, he thought himself happy to have fallen into the hands of his new guardians, who treated him in every respect, with *more kindness* than the inhospitable princes who had before possession of him; the English allowed him, while he continued in their camp, a certain sum for his daily subsistence. From this period he engaged the pompous title of Emperor, grand Mogul, Shah Allum the invincible or king of the world. The English were successful in totally expelling the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah from his dominions; and while in suspense about the disposal of this country, our grand Mogul sent a petition to the president and council at Bengal, which was transmitted to them by major Keater Chanis. Dated from the camp at Banares, the 22d of November 1764. The following is an exact translation of it.

If this country is to be kept, put me in possession of it, and leave a small detachment of the troops with me; to shew that I am protected by the English and they shall be at my expence: that if any enemy comes at any time against me, I will make such connections in the country, that with my own troops, and the aforementioned small detachment, will defend the country without any farther assistance from the English; and I will pay them of the revenues of the country what sums they shall demand yearly. If the English will contrary to their own interest, make peace with the Vizar

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Sujah al Dowlah, I will go to Delhi ; for I cannot think of returning again into the hands of a man who has used me so ill. Whilst Sujah al Dowlah had the Mogul in his possession, he was created Vizier by the captive prince. I have no friends, continued he, I depend on more than the English ; their former behaviour to me will make me ever respect and regard them : now is their time to be in possession of a country abounding with riches and treasure. I shall be satisfied with whatever share they please of it. The Rohallas were always enemies to the imperious Vizier ; they are all my friends."

The president and council of Calcutta having considered the Emperor's petition, resolved to keep a part of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions for the use of the East-India company, and put his majesty in possession of all the rest. Accordingly a paper was drawn up dated December 1761, and sent up to major Hector Munro, commander in chief of the army, with orders for him to get it executed by the Mogul. The translati^{ve} of this paper from the Persian is as follows :

" In consideration of the assistance and fidelity of the English company, which has freed us from the inconveniencies we laboured under, and strengthened the foundations of the empire, which God has given us, we have been graciously pleased to grant to the English company our royal favours, according to the following articles, which shall remain firm both at present and in future.

As the English company have been put to a great expence, and their affairs exposed to danger by the war with the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, un-justly

justly and contrary to our royal pleasure, waged against them, we have therefore assigned to them the country of Ghazipoza, and the rest of the Zemindary of Bulwantsing, belonging to the Nizam of the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and the regulation and government thereof we have given to their disposal, in the same manner as it was in the nabob Sujah al Dowlah's, the aforesaid Rajah having settled terms with the chiefs of the English company, as according thereto to pay the revenues to the company, and the account shall not belong to the books of the royal revenue, but shall be expunged from them. The army of the English company having joined our standard, shall put us in possession of Illahabad, and the rest of the countries belonging to the Nizamul of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and the revenues shall be in our entire management and disposal.

As the English company will be at a farther expence in putting us in possession of Illahabad, and the rest of the Nizamul of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, we will therefore as we get possession, grant to them out of our treasury, such a proportion of the revenues as the exigencies of our affairs will admit of and when we are put in full possession, we will reimburse the whole expences of the company in this business, from the time of their joining our royal standard.

The Mogul circumstanced as he was, readily agreed to the contents of this paper, and accordingly, on the 29th of December 1764, his imperial firmeur was issued confirming the same. In consequence of this agreement, the Mogul was put in possession of Illahabad, and all the subahship of

Oude, excepting the zemindary of Bulwantzing, where a factory was established by the governor and council at Banary, the principal city of this territory, for the collection of the revenues, which were fixed at twenty lacks, or about 250,000*l.* sterling *per annum*. Before the advices of this prosperous state of the company's affairs could be received in England, the East India company were greatly alarmed, and had appointed lord Clive as governor and commander in chief, together with a select committee, who were sent from England, furnished with ample powers to pursue whatever means they should think proper, to establish the peace and tranquility of Bengal. Upon his lordship's arrival on the 3d of May 1765, at Calcutta, he actually found the general affairs of the company, and of the settlements at Bengal in particular, in a more flourishing state than they had ever been known; in fact, there was nothing to do in the general out-lines of government, for him and his committee, from which act his reputation and just emolument could be raised, unless they cut out work for themselves: they therefore resolved to abolish the treaties then subsisting, which had been solemnly entered into only two months before, and to model the commercial as well as political affairs of the company, upon an entire new plan. The company will ever have reason to lament their motives for this alteration. He delivered up the command of the army to captain Jennings of the artillery, on the 2d of January 1764, and immediately set out for Patna.

Mr. Nicol having surveyed the Budjapore province, with the diligence and exactness peculiar to
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that trusty officer, found to his great sorrow, major Knox very ill on his arrival at Patna. The major ordered him two hundred seapoys of captain Campbell's battalion, and mentioned him as a proper officer to the Nabob Jaffier Ali Cawn, who agreed to send seventy horse under his command. With this detachment lieutenant Nicol was to proceed and take a view of the Chérakre pass, which was not exactly known to the military officers of the company. The roads in the Beerboone province as far as Bendowen and Calcutta, were to be comprehended in this survey: but the malady of major Knox having obliged lieutenant Nicol to defer his journey, this useful expedition was laid aside after the death of the major, which happened at this juncture. He was undoubtedly one of the best field officers the company ever had, and few are so eminent in all the branches of the military profession.

The editor having been obliged to postpone mentioning the glorious campaign of major Adams, in the year 1763, for want of an exact information, has in justice to the merit of that officer, inserted here a true narrative of it.

Major Adams with the troops under his command marched from Ghirolty the fifth of July, by order of the governor and council of Calcutta; to dethrone Cossim Ali Cawn, and to replace Meer Jaffier Ali Cawn to the Nabobship of Bengal. He was on the 10th of July proclaimed Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, and a salute of one and twenty guns was fired in his honour on the day.

The 19th of July the army encamped at Cutwa. The same day a large body of the enemy's horse attacked

attacked a detachment of our troops under the command of captain Long of the 84th regiment. Tucky Ali Cawn the best general of Cossim's army, was killed in the beginning of the engagement, which would otherwise have been more bloody and more obstinate than it was. Our detachment obliged the enemy to retire, but this advantage was dearly purchased by the laws of many men killed and wounded, besides the lieutenants Smith and Delafare of the cavalry, who lost their lives in the combat.

Here they were in sight of Plassey-house, and to honour this skirmish, as it had been done on a former occasion, the parole given out was, Clive and counter sign Plassey. It was the fortune of the English to be again successful in this plain, in asserting the cause of Meer Jassier Cawn.

The most remarkable engagement that ever happened in India, or perhaps in any other country was that of lieutenant Glyn, who had under his command five companies of seapoys and a small gun. He was on his march from Burdewan to join the army, and had under his charge two lacks of rupees. On the 17th of July, seventeen thousand of the enemy's horse attacked him with the most impetuous fury; the affair was bloody and disputed by lieutenant Glyn and his seapoys, with an incredible perseverance and intrepidity. Three times did the enemy take from him his guns and treasure, and as often did he re-take them. At last the bravery of his seapoys prevailed, and he obliged the enemy to retreat. After he had halted a short time to refresh his troops, he made a forced march

march attacked Gutwa Fort, took it and drove the enemy out of the town, across the Cossimbazan river. If we consider all the circumstances of this desperate encounter, seventeen thousand of a rapacious soldiery stimulated by the prospect of a considerable booty, and enraged to see a handful of men, scratch from them this valuable acquisition, secure it against the most powerful efforts, force them to retreat with disgrace and disappointment, take a fort and drive the enemy beyond a river, after this unparalleled exploit, as perhaps equal to any of these great achievements of the Greeks magnified by Xenophon.

July 23d captain Campbell, was ordered to raise a battalion of seapoys with all possible expedition, and on the 25th, the army marched through the city Moorshadabad and encamped at Saddat-bay: The Nabob Jaffier Ali Cawn, restored by the same European power, which had vanquished; humbled and dethroned him, once more, return triumphant as his competitor into his capital. A bridge was thrown over Lunear Nulla, and the army crossed it the first of August; the 2d the army marched from Bagatta to Ghireah, and engaged the enemy's whole army; they took several pieces of our cannon during the engagement, which were re-taken with activity. Three of the enemy's battalions changed captain Stilbert's battalion of seapoys alternately, as one was beat, another of the enemy's renewed the attack. Major Carnac was sent with two pieces of cannon, to captain Stilbert's assistance, for which, major Adams, with more generosity than was due to his bare performance of his duty, mentioned him to the board

of Calcutta, and Mr. Vansittart, who was rather partial to the major's military merit, made still a more honourable mention of Mr. Carnac to the court of directors, than such a common exertion of the major's courage deserved. The enemy had in the field, about forty thousand troops; many of their seapoys were well armed and disciplined after the European manner. The company's forces did not amount to above five thousand men. The number of the English seapoys killed and wounded was very considerable, but few Europeans suffered in this action. The valiant, active, and spirited lieutenant Glyn, aid de camp to major Adams, and lieutenant Furlong, and ensign Andrews of the company's 84th regiment, troops were amongst the slain; and lieutenant Keller of the attillery, fell a victim to the furies of the field and the vicissitudes of the climate. Among the wounded were captain Stilbert, in seven or eight different places, and ensign Aoming who was cut and maimed in a shocking manner.

Our army remained on the field of battle, all the second and third of August, and on the fourth marched to Aurangabad, where divine service was performed to return thanks to the god of hosts for our late great success, and after service was ended, a salute of twenty one guns was fired. It was not possible to ascertain the loss of the enemy, which was very great, they lost several pieces of cannon in this engagement after the defeat of Ghireah, they retreated to Wadin Nullah, where they had thrown up a strong work. They had a high hill to their right, round the top of which breast works were thrown up, the river Ganges was on their left

left; from the hill to the river they had thrown up a strong rampart, on which were mounted several pieces of cannon. At a little distance from the river was a large gate, and in front of the rampart a deep broad ditch full of water; from the foot of the hill to the right of the enemy ran a deep morass in a perpendicular line to their rampart; thro' the middle of the morass ran a little rivulet, this lay in front of a ridge of hills, which went off from the highest to their right in a perpendicular line.

On the 11th the army encamped at Pulkepoon, and major Adams immediately concerted measures to drive the enemy from this strong hold, in raising batteries against the place. During the siege they once made an attempt on them, and at another time upon the rear of the line, but met with so warm a reception, that they desisted from acting offensively. The fifth of September we stormed the enemy's entrenchments: about an hour before day, captain Irwin with his and other compaunies of grenadiers, supported by battalions of seapoys, attacked the hill. A Harcamal and seapoy officer undertook to conduct him through the march, which they did with great difficulty; the soldiers were obliged at times to carry their arms and ammunition upon their heads to keep them from the water. They got over without being perceived by the enemy, who indulged themselves in a false security, as they thought it impracticable to go thro' the marsh. Captain Irwin climbed up the hill as fast as possible. The enemy laid on their little matts in a profound sleep on each side of him, as he was marching up. He gave strict orders to his men not to fire upon the enemy; but instead of

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giving the alarm, to receive them upon their bayonets. Before the captain had reached the top of the hill, the enemy's guard gave the alarm. This was the prelude of a bloody scene; the enemy betook themselves to the breast work, which formed a circle round the top, but they were soon forced from this entrenchment. Captain Miran who commanded the party in the batteries, marched out and entered at a breach, which would admit only one at a time, it had been made with our cannon by the side of the gate. Captain Irwin marched down the hill to the right, and captain Miran to the left, until they met a great number of the enemy, were devoured in a sort of lake formed from the marsh, and there were about seventy people laying dead on a stone bridge, in the rear of the gate of the rampart, which was over wood in Nulla. This was owing to a guard of the enemy's being placed beyond the bridge, with orders not to let any of their own people pass, but to keep them at the works, so that those that ran from the work were for a little time between two fires. In this perilous attack captain Broadbrook was killed, and lieutenant Hampton wounded, otherwise our loss was considerable: the enemy suffered greatly; but we reaped more however than real advantage from this daring exploit. The army marched the next day to a mosque beyond Rajamaul, and disposed of the horses and camels taken from the enemy.

The 8th of September we continued our march and left all the sick in the mosque at Ramajaul, under proper persons.

Major Adams, after finishing the glorious campaign of 1763, died at Calcutta in his way to his native

native country. His services, his military knowledge, his social virtues made him worthy in every respect to command soldiers.

It was this new system of government, and the consequences of it, which laid the foundation of all the inquiries and publications that have since laid open the affairs of the company, and forced the English legislature to interfere its authority and shew its justice in wresting from the hands of the presidencies in Indostan, a power they had abused in open violation of the laws of nations and the rights of Englishmen.

Among the alterations determined upon, the Mogul was to be deprived of the Nizemat of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, with which he had already been invested by solemn treaty, and the company was to give up the zemindary of Bulwantzing, all of which were to be restored to the said Nabob, against whose wealth, as Mr. Dow justly observes, the virtue of some of our revolutions was by no means proof, upon his paying to the company the sum of fifty lacks of rupees. The grand Mogul was likewise supposed to be in actual possession of Bengal, and he was to give a paper granting to the company, not only the office of the Dewannie, which consists in superintending the lords and collectors of those provinces, but the revenues also; by which of course all the treaties with the Nabobs of Bengal were rendered void. He was likewise to confirm to the company the lands before granted to them by the former Nabob's, and to confirm lord Clive's Jagheer. For all which the Mogul was to be paid by the English company the annual sum of twenty six lack of rupees for his

his expences and the support of his dignity : and he was to be continued in the possession of Corra and part of the province at Illahabad.

The select committee at Calcutta had not the least doubt of the Mogul's complying with all this very readily, because as they expressed it, "the king is now dependant on our bounty, his whole hope of protection and even of subsistence, rest upon us ; it cannot therefore be supposed he will prove obstinate in denying a request of little consequence to him in his present circumstances, but advantageous to us, his greatest benefactors, and we may say his only friends."

The committee, intended to make still a better use of the Mogul's inglorious dependency. Upon the same principles at before, sunnuds for the provinces in the Decan valued at the yearly revenue of thirty lacks or 375,000*l.* were to be obtained also : lord Clive in a letter from Mootasill, informed his select committee at Calcutta in the following words, that he was resolved to succeed. "I have been desired by the president of Fort. St. George to obtain sunnuds for the free northern provinces, which being a matter of great importance, I shall make a point of succeeding in it; and as the Nabob of Bengal intends purchasing his majesty's favour at the price of five lacks of rupees, I make no doubt that all the sunnuds demanded on the company's account will be afforded gratis. The situation of Shah Allum was such, that if the lowest servant of the company had been sent to him with authority, the prince would have granted the remainder of this empire for the sake of a subsistence and the security of his person. Accordingly the

the following grants required of him were obtained under his imperial firmeurs.

Copy of the new agreement, or treaty jointly entered into between the Nabob Najim al Dowlah, the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, the emperor Shah Allum, and lord Clive and the secret committee of Calcutta; upon the latter's revoking all former treaties, and new modelling the affairs of the company, by assuming the Dewanne. Dated the 16th August 1765.

(Sealed and approved by the Emperor.)

“Whereas the right honourable Robert Lord Clive, baron Clive, of Plassey, knight, companion of the most honourable order of the Bath, major general and commander of the forces, president of the council, and governor of Fort William, and of all the settlements belonging to the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and John Carnac, esquire, brigadier general, colonel in the service of the said company, and commanding officer of their forces upon the Bengal establishment, are invested with full and ample powers, on the behalf of his excellency the Nabob Najim al Dowlah, Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and likewise on behalf of the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, to negotiate, settle, and finally to conclude a firm and lasting peace with his highness the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, Vicer of the empire; be it known to all those to whom it may or shall in any manner

manner belong, that the above-named plenipotentiaries have agreed upon the following articles with his highness.

1st. A perpetual and universal peace, sincere friendship, and firm union shall be established between his highness Sujah al Dowlah, and his heirs, on the one part, and his excellency Najim al Dowlah, and the English East-India company, on the other, so that the said contracting powers shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves their dominions, and their subjects, this reciprocal friendship, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities to be committed from henceforth for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever; and every thing shall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union now happily established.

2d. In case the dominions of his Highness Sujah al Dowlah shall at any time hereafter be attacked, his excellency Najim al Dowlah and the English company shall assist him with a part or the whole of their forces, according to the exigency of his affairs, and so far as may be consistent with their own security; and if the dominions of his excellency Najim al Dowlah, or the English company shall be attacked, his highness shall in like manner assist them with a part or the whole of his forces; in the case of the English company's forces being employed in his highness's service, the extraordinary expence of the same is to be defrayed by him.

3d. His highness solemnly engages never to entertain or receive Cossim Ally Khawn, the late Subahdar of Bengal, &c. Sumroo the assassin of the English,

English, nor any of the European deserters within his dominions, nor to give the least countenance, support, or protection to them; he likewise solemnly engages to deliver up to the English whatever Europeans may in future desert from them into this country.

4th. The king, Shah Allum, shall remain in full possession of Cora, and such part of the province of Illahabad as he now possesses, which are ceded to his majesty as a royal demesne for the support of his dignity and expences.

5th. His highness Sujah al Dowlah engages, in the most solemn manner, to continue Bulwant Sing in the Zemindaries of Banaras, Ghazipore, and all those districts he possessed at the time he came over to the late Nabob Jaffier Ally Khawn and the English, on condition of his paying the same revenue as heretofore.

6th. In consideration of the great expence incurred by the English company in carrying on the late war, his highness agrees to pay them (fifty) 50 lacks of rupees, in the following manner, viz. (twelve) 12 lacks in money, and a deposit of jewels; to the amount of eight lacks, upon the signing of this treaty; (five) 5 lacks one month after, and the remaining (twenty-five) 25 lacks by monthly payments, so as that the whole may be discharged in (thirteen) 13 months from the date hereof.

7th. It being firmly resolved to restore to his highness the country of Banaras, and the other districts now rented by Bulwant Sing, notwithstanding the grant of the same from the king to the English company; it is therefore agreed, that they shall be ceded to his highness in manner following, viz. They shall remain in the hands of the Eng-

lish company with their revenues, till the expiration of the agreement between the Rajah Bulwant Sing and the company, being on the 27th November next; after which his highness shall enter into possession, the fort of Chunar excepted, which is not to be evacuated untill the 6th article of this treaty be fully complied with.

8th. His highness shall allow the English company to carry on a trade, duty-free, throughout the whole of his dominions.

9th. All the relations and subjects of his highness, who in any manner assisted the English during the course of the late war, shall be forgiven, and no ways molested for the same.

10th. As soon as this treaty is executed, the English forces shall be withdrawn from the dominions of his highness, excepting such as may be necessary for the garrison of Chunar, or for the defence and protection of the king in the city of Illahabad, if his majesty should require a force for that purpose.

11. His highness the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, his excellency the Nabob Najim al Dowlah, and the English company, promised to observe sincerely and strictly all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said contracting powers generally and reciprocally guarantee to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

Clive [L. S.]

John [L. S.] Carnac.

Sujah [L. S.] Al Dowlah's Seal and Ratification.

Mirza Cossim Khawn.

Rajah Shetabroy.

Signed, sealed, and solemnly sworn to according to their respective faiths, by the contracting parties at Allahabad, this 16th day of August, in the year of our lord 1765, in the presence of us——

Edmund Maskelyne,
Archib. Swinton,
George Vansittart.

Fort William, Sept. 30th 1765.

A true copy. Alexander Campbell.
S. S. C.

Copy of the general Firmaun from the emperor Shah Allum, granting to the company the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa Dated 12th August 1765.

At this happy time our royal firmaun, indispensably requiring obedience, is issued, that whereas, in consideration of the attachments and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Dewannee, which used to be paid to the court ; it is requisite that the said company engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been

appointed from the Nabob, Najim al Dowlah Bahader, and regularly remit the same to the royal Sircar ; and in this case, as the said company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, &c. we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees to the royal Sircar, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut : it is requisite that our royal descendants the Vizier's, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs, high in rank, the great officers, the Mutseddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jagueedars and 'Croories,' as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever, looking upon them to be insured from dismissal or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewannee, and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos*.

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign-manual, our royal commands are issued, that in consideration of the attachment and services of
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the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fufful Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the customs of the Dewannee, which used to be paid to the court, on condition of their being security for the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees a year, for our royal revenue ; which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Najum al Dowlah Bahader ; and after remitting the royal revenue, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut, whatsoever may remain we have granted to the said company.

The Dewannee of the province of Bengal,

The Dewannee of the province of Bahar.

The Dewannee of the province of Orissa,

A true Copy.

Fort William
30th September 1765,

Alex Campbell.
S. S. C.

Copy of the Firmaun from the emperor, Shah Allum, confirming to the English company the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and the 24 pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. before ceded to them by the Nabobs, Jaffier

Ally Khawn and Cossim Ally Khawn. Dated the 12th August 1765.

At this happy time our royal firmaun, indispensably requiring obedience, is issued, that the Chucklahs of Burdwan, Midnipore, and Chittigong, &c. and also the twenty-four pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the zemindary of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English company) which were granted to the said company in the time of Meer Mahomed Cossim and Meer Mahomed Jassier Khawn, deceased. We, in consideration of the attachment of the said company, have been graciously pleased to confirm to them, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free and ultumagau, without the association of any other person. It is requisite that our royal descendants, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs, high in rank, the great officers, the Musfeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the sultanat, the Jagueerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said districts and pergunnahs in possession of the said company from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be insured from dismissal or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all manner of customs and demands. Knowing our orders on this
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subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th Year of the Jaloos*.

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign-manual, our royal commands are issued, that the Chucklahs of Burdwan, Midnipore,* and Chittigong, &c. and also the twenty-four pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the zemindary of the English company) which were granted to the said company in the time of Meer Mahomed Cossim, and Meer Mahomed Jaffer Khawn, deceased, be confirmed to the said company, as a free gift and ultungau, without the association of any other person.

Chucklah of Burdwan.
Chucklah of Midnipore.
Chucklah of Chittigong.

The twenty-four pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. the zemindary of the English company.

Fort William, September 30th, 1765.

ALEX. CAMPBELL.
S. S. C.

* The 12th August 1765.

Copy of the firmaun from The Emperor Shah Allum, confirming the reversion, in perpetuity, of lord Clive's Jagheer to the company. Dated the 12th August 1765.

Whereas a funnud has been presented to us under the seal of the Nabob, Najimi al Dowlah Bahadar, to the following purport, viz. "The sum of 222,958 sicca ropees and odd, agreeably to the Dewannee funnud, and the funnud of the high and mighty Sujah al Muluck Hossamo Dowlah Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Bahader, has been appointed from the Pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. in the Sircar of Sautgaum, &c. in the province of Bengal (the paradise of the earth) the zemindary of the English company, as an unconditional jagheer to the high and mighty Zubdut al Muluck Nuffer al Dowlah Lord Clive, Bahader, now likewise the said Pergunnahs are confirmed as an unconditional jagheer to the high and mighty aforesaid, from the 16th May of the 1764th year of the christian stile (answering to the 14th of Zelcada of the 1177th year of the hegira) to the expiration of ten years, they shall appertain as an unconditional jagheer to the high and mighty aforesaid, and after the expiration of this term, to revert to the company as an unconditional jagheer and perpetual gift; and if the high and mighty aforesaid should die within the said term, shall revert to the company immediately upon his death."

And whereas the said funnud has met with our approbation, at this happy time, therefore our
royal

royal firman, indispensably requiring obedience, is issued, that in consideration of the fidelity of the English company and the High and Mighty aforesaid, the said jagheer stand confirmed agreeably to the aforesaid sunnud it is requisite that the present and future Mutseddees, the Chowdries, Canongoes, Muckaudums, Ryots, and all other inhabitants of the Pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c in the Sircar of Sautgaum, &c regard the High and Mighty aforesaid during the forementioned term, and after him the company aforesaid, as unconditional Jagheerdars, and regularly pay them the revenues of the said Pergunnahs.

Written the 24th Sophar, the 6th year of Jaloos^o.

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has been received, sign manual, our royal commands are issued, that whereas the sum of 222,958 sicca rupees and odd, has been appointed from the Pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c in the Sircar of Cautgaum, &c the zemindary of the English company, as an unconditional jagheer to the high and mighty Subdut al Muluck Nuffer al Dbwlah Lord Clive Bahad r, agreeably to the Dewannee sunnud, and the sunnud of the Nazim of the province; in consideration therefore of the attachment of the High and Mighty aforesaid we have been graciously pleased to confirm to him the said Pergunnahs for the space of ten years, commencing from the

good wishes of the high, mighty, &c. &c. English company, have from *our throne, the basis of the world*, given them the aforementioned Sircars, by way of iniam or free gift (without the least participation of any person whatever in the same) from the beginning of the Phussul of Tuccaucool, in the year of Phaly 1172, equal to the month of April 1762. It is incumbent therefore upon you, our Sons, Omrahs, Viziers, Governors, Mutsed-dees, for the affairs of our dewanship, Mootecephils for those of our kingdom, Jagueerdars and Croories, both now and hereafter, for ever and ever, to use your endeavours in the strengthening and carrying into execution this our most high command, and to cede and give up to the above-mentioned English company, their heirs and descendants, for ever and ever, the aforesaid Sircars, and esteeming them likewise free, exempt, and safe from all displacing or removal: by no means whatever, either molest or trouble them on account of the demands of the Dewan's office, or those of our imperial court. Looking upon this high firmaun as an absolute and positive order, obey it implicitly. Dated the 24th of the moon sophar*, in the sixth of our reign.

Forms made use of on the back of the Firmaun.

From the secretary, setting forth, that his majesty had been pleased to sign a petition, (supposed to be from the company) of the same date as the firmaun, directing, that whereas Salabat Jung Ba-

* Equal to the 12th August 1765.

hader, Subahdar of the Deccan, conferred the fircar of Sicacole, &c. on the French company, and that in consequence of it's not being confirmed by his majesty, either by firmaun or otherwise, the high, mighty, &c &c English company (having sent a large force for that purpose) did expel the said French therefrom. His majesty therefore, in consideration of the fidelity of the aforesaid English company, has given them (without the participation of any person whatever in the same) the above-mentioned fircars by way of iniam or free gift.

Then follow two orders from the Mogul; the first, supposed to be in his own hand, addressed to his son Mirza Mahomed Acbur Shah Bahader, telling him to comply with the contents of this firmaun; the other directing that the English company be under his son's command or in his Resaula. The whole attested under Kazy Inauyet Khawn's seal to be a true copy from the original.

Copy of the agreement whereby the right honourable Robert lord Clive, on the part of the English east india company, agrees to pay the king Shah Allum, from the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, the sum of twenty-six lacks, or 325,000 l. per annum, in gratitude for the favours which his lordship and the company had received from His Imperial Majesty. Dated 19th August 1765.

Articles of agreement with his Majesty.

The nahob Najim al Dowlah agrees to pay to his Majesty out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar,

har, and Orissa, the sum of 26 lacks of rupees a year, without any deduction for batta, on bills of exchange, by regular monthly payments amounting to Rs. 216,600—10—9 per month; the first payment to commence from the 1st of September of the present year; and the English company in consideration of his Majesty's having been graciously pleased to grant the dewannee of Bengal, &c. do engage themselves to be security for the regular payment of the same. It shall be paid month by month from the factory at Patna, to Rajah Shetabroy, or whomsoever his Majesty may think proper to nominate, that it may be forwarded by him to the court: but in case the territories of the aforesaid Nabob should be invaded by any foreign enemy, a deduction is then to be made out of the stipulated revenue, proportionably to the damage that may be sustained.

In consideration of Nudjuff Khawn's having joined the English forces, and acted in his majesty's service in the late war, his majesty will be graciously pleased to allow him the sum of two lacks of rupees a year, to be paid by equal monthly payments; the first payment to commence from the 1st of September of the present year; and in default thereof, the English company, who are guarantees for the same, will make good out of the revenue allotted to his majesty from the territories of Bengal. If the territories of Bengal should be invaded at any time, and on that account a deduction be made out of the royal revenue, in such case

case a proportionable deduction shall also be made out of Nudjuf Khawn's allowance.

Dated the 19th of August, 1765

Fort William, 30th of September, 1765.

A true Copy.

Alexander Campbell.
S. S. C.

In July 1765, the Nabob, Najim al Dowlah, agreed to accept of 5386,131 rupees, 9 annes, or 673,266l. sterling, for the support of his government and dignity, because his imperial majesty Shah Allum had been pleased to give the revenues of his Nabobship to the English East India company, with the Dewannee of Bengal, Baher, and Orissa, as a free gift for ever. This agreement was sworn to, as long as the English company's factories continue in Bengal.

The reader will observe that Shah Allum is the same prince, whom colonel Clive, then governor and president of Calcutta, had strenuously opposed, and even chastised the Rajah's as rebellious vessels for daring to join his royal standard. The prince, whose firmans had on many former occasions been declared absolutely invalid against whom a formal treaty had been entered into between the company and the Nabob of Bengal, on the 27th of September 1760, and whose pretension even the directors of the East-India company themselves had acknowledged to be entirely doubtful.

In a minute as governor Vansittart, colonel
Cail-

Caillaud and other gentlemen of the council at Bengal, entered on the consultations under date of the 12th of January 1761. It is said, "as to the Mogul's firmaun, there was a time when the orders of Delhi had some weight at Bengal, but that time is no more, it is hard to say who is king at Delhi or who will be."

This unfortunate prince was made subservient to the ambitious views of the company. It is well known that he had not the free administration even of those districts, nor the stipend ultimately allotted to him; the company assumed the management of his mints and the regulations of his servants.

There has not been in reality any real emperor of Indostan for many years past; the whole country is in a state of anarchy where there is no law, but that of the strongest. Mr. Dow, truly says, "that Indostan is at present torn to pieces by factions. All laws divine and human are trampled under foot: instead of one tyrant as in the times of the empire, the country now groans under thousands, and the voice of the oppressed multitude reaches heaven. It would therefore, be promoting the cause of justice and humanity to pull those petty tyrants from the height, to which their villainies have raised them, and to give to so many millions of mankind a government founded upon the principles of virtue and justice.

As to the unfortunate and generous prince, who is now called the Mogul, he is dependent for his subsistence upon the servants of an incorporated society of English merchants, who have raised him to that exalted title, for making him an instrument

ment of their rapaciousness, and giving a sanction to their oppressions.

The sovereign of that empire, whose friendship and alliance the first potentates of Europe courted formerly, and to whom they sent respectful embassies, humbly beseeching his protection for the benefit of their subjects trading in his dominions, is now a mere pageant of royalty, and sunk into such contempt as the creature of the East India company, that major Morrison appointed ambassador of Shah Allum to our court, notwithstanding the authenticity of his credentials has been denied access to majesty in that public character, and the company has refused to pay thirty thousand pounds, assigned to him for the support of his dignity, in consequence of the money due to that prince. The major had served the company with reputation, and in his way to England through Delhi, the Mogul desired to see him and appointed him general of his forces, with the additional honour of his ambassador at the court of Great Britain. I have not seen a book published by that gentleman, to prove the advantages of an alliance with his master, but as he is now at the mercy of the company, and his revenues are managed by them, the King of Great Britain cannot treat upon an equality with a prince, commanded by his subjects : nor indeed can his alliance as things are at present, be advantageous to the nation.

This prince amidst all his misfortunes, has given several instances of his generosity, particularly to the members of the secret committee, who made him on the 30th of September 1765. He presented

presented general Carnac with two lacks of rupees, and in the year 1767, he likewise presented colonel Richard Smith with two lacks more, as appears from the minute of the council of Calcutta, dated the 14th of September of the same year.

In consequence of the new arrangements of lord Clive, there were several consultations about the office called dewannee. Mr. Vansittart pretended that the dewan is the second officer of the province, whose business is to superintend the lands and collections. He was appointed by the court of Dehly, and independent in every respect of the Nabobs, who according to the original constitution of the empire, has no right to interfere in the management of the revenue. Thus the collections of the revenues of all the provinces subject to the Nabob, are to be accounted for with the court of Dehly.

Mr. Holwell formerly governor of Bengal tells us, that the rents of the lands are the property of the emperor, in consequence of which, he has a royal dewan in every nabobship, who ought to be accountable to the royal treasury for the whole amount of the rents, as rated upon the king's books. But as there is always a good understanding between the Dewan and the Nabob, they never are at a loss in pretending reasons for the rents falling short, though the whole is fully and strictly collected. What is diverted from the royal treasury, is divided between the Dewan and the Nabob, of which the latter takes all the lion's share.

The dewannee, which was assumed by lord Clive and his committee, had been long before repeatedly offered to the company; but was always

rejected. The court of directors wrote to the governor and council of Calcutta on this subject, and approved of their refusal of the dewannee of Bengal, offered by the king Shah Allum, and expressed their satisfaction of the just and prudent reasons which they had given for declining that offer; it was thought that it would be the source of continual disputes with the Nabob, by occasioning a great diminution of his authority; and a continual cause of jealousy and contention with the military powers, and the European nations who had settlements in Bengal, that it might subject the affairs of the company to the interference of the British legislature, or in the end might be attended with other consequences highly prejudicial to the interests of the company.

The reasons alledged by lord Clive and his select committee for assuming the dewannee contrary to the opinion of the directors were thus stated in a letter dated September 30, 1765.

The perpetual struggles of superiority between the Nabobs and your agents, together with the recent proofs before us of notorious and avowed corruption, have rendered us unanimously of opinion, after the most mature deliberation, that no other method could be suggested of laying the ax to the root of all those evils, than that of obtaining the dewannee of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa for the company. By this acquisition of the dewannee, your possessions and influence are rendered permanent and secure; since no future Nabob will neither have power or riches sufficient to attempt your overthrow by means either of force or corruption. The experience of years has convinced us, that a division

sion of power is impossible, without generating discontent and hazarding the whole. All must belong either to the company or to the Nabob, and we leave you to judge which alternative is the most desirable and the most expedient in the present circumstances."

In another letter dated the 30th of September, the motives for assuming the dewannee are farther explained in the following words, "Though the revenues belong to the company, yet were the company's officers to be the collectors, foreign nations would immediately take umbrage, and complaints preferred to the British court might be attended with very embarrassing consequences, nor can it be supposed that either the French, Dutch or Danes would acknowledge the English company Nabob of Bengal, and pay into the hands of their servants the duties upon trade, or the quit-rent of these districts which they have for many years possessed by virtue of the royal firmans, or grants from former Nabobs." And again, "in considering the subject of the dewannee, and the consequences of your large increase of revenues, I have already observed, that our acquisition will give no umbrage to foreign nations, with respect to our territorial jurisdiction, so long as the present appearance of the Nabob's power is preserved." He concluded by telling the directors, "you are now become the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom, you are now not only the collectors, but the proprietors of the Nabob's dominions. The principal motives of this manœuvre were to establish such monopolies of the trade of the country, and even of the common necessities of life, for

their own private emolument, and to the subversion of the natural rights of mankind, as to this day remained unparalleled in the history of the most despotic government."

It is evident that the grant of this dewanee, came from a prince, whose authority had been publicly disavowed, by the receivers of it; and that the whole was a contrivance of the noble lord and his committee, for their private advantage: and that by assuming the sovereignty of the country, they endeavoured to blind not only the Indians and other foreign factories, but even the British nation.

Ever since the subversion of the Mogul empire, the nominal sovereigns who have been set up by the different usurpers at Dehli, have been profuse in their grants, honours and dignities; a sum of money distributed among the creatures of these Mogul-makers obtained the grant or confirmation of any sunnud or office. It was receiving so much clear gain, for a supposed gift that was not in the donor's possession; A striking instance of this mode of negotiation related by Mr. Vansittart, was of an intriguing dewan or minister of the Nabob, named Nundcomar, obtaining his own titles and seals, before his master Meer Jaffier received any assurances whatever of the royal appointment to the Nabobship. The grand Mogul's grants of that sort are of late become still cheaper; the black servants of many gentlemen in the service of the East-India company having been by him created rajahs or princes; and several servants of the company have returned to Europe with the titles of omrahs.

The first formal treaty that our company had entered into with any Nabob of Bengal, was that solemnly ratified on the 9th of February 1757, the Nabob Serajah al Dowlah swearing on the koran, and colonel Clive pledging the names of God and our Saviour to observe the same. But interest which supercedes all oaths and treaties betwixt two parties equally influenced by rapaciousness and a sordid avarice, has rendered precarious all these mutual engagements.

Monsieur Dupleix the ostentatious governor of Pondicherry, having first discovered the superiority of European discipline over the numerous and timid legions of Indostan, by the successful arms of the French on the coast of Coromandel, invented the profitable traffic of setting up and deposing Nabobs. It was happy for the English company, as Mr. Craston judiciously observes, that the Nabob Serajah al Dowlah's army made so little resistance in the field of Plassey, as according to his computation there was only seventy men killed and wounded. Meer Jassier was the first nasim created in Bengal by the English, who before their repeated successes against the late Nabob, the French and the Dutch might have marched to Delhi without any obstruction. It is worthy of observation, that colonel Clive was made an omrah of the empire by Meer Jassier, who had been just before placed on the throne of Bengal, by the arts and policy of the colonel. As there was then no real Emperor to grant a firmaun, application was made at Delhi for the seal of Allum Gheer, the prince who was taken out of prison, set up, and afterwards murdered by Gazi al Deer Khan, whose

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firmauns to his son Aly Gohar, at another time the colonel was so far from admitting, that he threatened to chastise as rebels the adherents of that prince. By virtue of this title of Omrah conferred on him by the Nabob to his creature, colonel Clive was supposed to maintain 6000 horse, for the support of which the said Nabob made him a jagueerdar, or lord of the lands ceded by the treaty mentioned before to the English company, upon which the yearly income called jagueer, of near 30,000 l. sterling was acquired by the colonel.

The Dutch of Bengal seeing the uses which the French and English had made of Moguls and Nabobs in this distracted state of the country, from the superiority of European discipline, formed in their turn the design of trying their fortune in the same way. We have mentioned how their project formed by their factory at Chinsura in Bengal, and adopted by the government of Batavia, miscarried towards the end of the year 1759, by the vigilance and activity of the English. Revolutions ever since have been a trade in the peninsula of Indus, and a resource for the exigencies of the English company and their ravenous substitutes.

It was according to the measures of that detestable policy, that Meer Jassier was restored and deposed. Had the Nabob Meer Cossim been a man of personal courage, and animated his troops by his own presence in the field, it is more than probable that the English company would have been ruined and disgraced, without a single foot of ground in those provinces. The discipline and intrepidity of Cossim's troops, rendered for some time the success of the war so uncertain, that (contrary to all former practice),

practice), the writers and other young persons in the civil service of the company, were all accoutred, disciplined and formed into a military corps; but the issue of the battle of Gareea, wherein it was long doubtful which side would prevail, did at last turn the scale in favour of the English, after the campaign had lasted above five months. We have seen how Meer Jassier fled, and was pursued from place to place, till he was at length totally driven out of his dominions, and forced to take refuge with the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, upon which Meer Jassier ali Khawn was reinstated in his government. In all subsequent treaties considerable additional advantages were obtained by the English, and every revolution brought by their address to a happy issue, increased their demands ever since the Nabob of Bengal is become as much dependent upon the governor and council of Calcutta, as they could possibly wish. Even an officer of the company, as stipulated for in the seventh article of the treaty with Meer Jassier, was from that time stationed with him, under the denomination of Company's Resident, not only as a watch and a check upon the Nabob's transactions, but to enforce the execution of any business the governor and council might think proper to resolve on.

On the death of Meer Jassier, February 5th 1765, it was thought necessary by the governor and council at Calcutta, to make such new arrangements for the regulation of the court at *Murshadabad*, as might serve to render future Nabobs still more dependent, and consequently the company more secure; for the execution of this design, four gentlemen of the council at Calcutta were appointed

pointed a deputation, with an injunction not to fix the Nabob on the musnud or throne, till he had agreed to their requisitions. The person fixed for this nominal government was Najim al Dowlah, Meer Jaffier's eldest son, a youth then about eighteen years of age. He was denied the liberty of advising with those ministers of his father, whom he was desirous of continuing in office, because they were suspected of having embezzled a great part of the revenues, and of being secret enemies to the company, on this pretence the chief minister was seized, by order of the governor and council of Calcutta, and sent prisoner thither. The Nabob in consequence of these violent and arbitrary measures, found himself under a necessity to approve such other ministers and collectors as the English pointed out to him. An interregnum of several weeks passed, before the business was finally settled during which period Najim al Dowlah saw himself actually reduced to the alternative, of either acceding to the arrangement proposed by the governor and council, or of resigning the Nabobship. Indeed the new regulations, with respect to the collection of the revenues, were judiciously made out, and well calculated to prevent the embezzlements which had been before practised, to the amount of near a million and a half sterling per annum. The more that was saved to the Nabob of the public money, the more remained in fact for the company. but, however proper such appointments might be, as they were totally repugnant to the inclination of the Nabob, they serve to point out his entire dependence. He was deprived by the treaty dated February 25th 1765, of
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his army, and the nomination of all civil and military officers of government.

The company engaged at all times, to keep up such a force as may be necessary, especially to support and assist Najum al Dowlah in the defence of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa. "As our troops will be more to be depended on than any the Nabob can have and of less expence to him, he need therefore entertain none but such as are requisite for the support of the civil officers of his government and the business of his collections through the different districts. On the part of the Nabob, in consideration of the assistance the governor and council have agreed to afford in securing to him the succession in the subahdary, held by his father, he agrees to have a person appointed by the company, who has experience to advise and assist him, in the station of Naib Subah, who shall have immediately under him the chief management of all affairs; that he shall not displace any of his officers without the English resident's approbation, who shall have the supreme inspection of the collections of the revenues; the governor and council were at liberty to object and point out to the Nabob, when improper people were entrusted, or his officers and subjects oppressed. He engaged to allow no Europeans whatever to be entertained in his service; nor to permit the French to erect fortifications, maintain forces or hold lands in the three provinces, &c.

Upon all these resolutions large sums of money were obtained by the persons who conducted them from every new made Nabob. Thus were immense fortunes suddenly acquired. Upon the making of

Nassim al Dowlah, the gentlemen deputed from Calcutta, upon that business, received considerable presents ; which lord Clive and the select committee, who arrived at Calcutta soon after greatly disapproved, and set on foot a very severe enquiry into the conduct of the deputies on that occasion. In a letter to the proprietors of India stock, printed in 1766, Mr. Juhnstone, who was chief of the deputation, in vindication of his conduct, thus recriminates on his lordship, who was the promoter of these enquires. “ Did the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khawn intend to give no more to lieutenant colonel Clive than barely the sum of 280,000 rupees, as his equal share with governor Drake of the present of 25 lacs to the secret committee, and three lacs as his proportion of one eighth, as commander in chief, of the donation of 25 lacs given to the army ? the additional present he received at the same time, over and above those two other shares, was reckoned at 25 lacs, above 300,000*l.* sterl. and it is well known to be the general and established practice among the people of that country to make such distinctions.”

Though at the time of lord Clive's arrival in India the country was in perfect tranquillity ; every enemy of the company actually subdued, and such agreements as were thought requisite for the company's interest settled likewise with the prince Shah Allum, and the Rajah Bulwantsing, yet the noble lord with his secret committee, resolved to undo all that had been done, and to proceed, as if no treaties had been ratified, or peace had not existed in Bengal, with Shah Allum. Lord Clive in a letter to the proprietors of East-India stock had

had before apologized for receiving the presents alluded to, upon his making the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khawn in the following words.

“The Nabob, agreeable to the known and usual custom of eastern princes, made presents both to those of his own court, and to such of the English who, by their rank and abilities, had been instrumental in the happy success of so hazardous an enterprize, suitable to the dignity and the rank of a great prince. I was one amongst the many who benefited by this favour. I never sought to conceal it, but declared publicly in my letters to the secret committee of the India directors, that the Nabob's generosity had made my fortune *easy*; and that the company's welfare was now my only motive for staying in India: what injustice was this to the company? They could expect no more than what was stipulated in the treaty; or what injunction was I under to refuse a present from him who had the power to make me one, as the reward of honourable services? I know of none.”

The emperor Shah Allum, and the expelled Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, actually vizier of the empire, to whom the objects in view were of the highest importance, as the former desired to be confirmed king of Dehly, and the latter to be restored to his dominions, readily agreed to every thing that was proposed by our plenipotentiaries, and new agreements were also made, by which Najim al Dowlah very judiciously laid down his mock dignity, which the English assumed, under the title of dewannee, and he agreed to accept of the annual sum of 673,266 l. sterling, for the support of his household. He also agreed to give the emperor 325,000 l. per

per annum, for giving the devannee or revenues of his Nabobship to the English, who in consideration of this grant engaged to become securities for the Nabob Najim al Dowlah regularly paying that sum to the emperor. The absurdity of these mock negotiations is too palpable to need any commentary.

With respect to the relation that the English East India company bears at present, to the Nabob of Bengal, we cannot explain it in a better manner than lord Clive has already done to the directors, upon the very subject of this Nabob Najim al Dowlah his lordship's words are these, in a letter dated Calcutta, 30th of September 1765

“ Considering the excesses we have of late years manifested in our conduct, the princes of Indostan will not readily imagine us capable of moderation, nor can we expect they will ever be attached to us by any other motive than fear. Meer Jassier Cossim Ally, and even Mahomet Ally the Nabob of Arcot, the best mussulman I ever knew, have afforded instances sufficient of their inclination to throw off the English superiority. No opportunity will ever be neglected that seems to favour an attempt to extirpate us, though the consequences while we keep our army complete, must in the end be more fatal to themselves. This impatience under the subjection as I may call it to Europeans is natural, but so great is the insatiation of the natives of this country, that they look no farther than the present moment, and will put their all to the hazard of a single battle. Even our young Nabob who is the issue of a prostitute, who has little abilities and less education to supply the
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want of them, mean, weak and ignorant as this man is, he would if left to himself and a few of his artful flatterers, pursue the very paths of his predecessors. It is impossible therefore to trust him with power and be safe. If you mean to maintain your present possessions and advantages, the command of the army and the receipt of the revenues must be kept in your own hands; every wish he may express to obtain either, be assured, is an indication of his desire to reduce you to your original state of dependency, to which you can never now return without ceasing to exist."

The young Nabob Najim al Dowlah, by the agreement made between him and the company in July 1765, was to have a settled income, out of the revenues of the Bengal provinces, of considerably more than fifty three lack of sicca rupees per annum. Within two or three months afterwards, in consequence of the new system of oeconomy, introduced by lord Clive and Mr. Sykes, it was reduced to less than forty-two lacks; a most glaring injustice: but he died suddenly on the eighth of May 1766, within fifteen months after his exaltation to the masnud.

The allowance to his brother and successor Meer Haneyah or Seyf al Dowlah, a youth of about fifteen years old, was reduced to thirty-six lacks, which however he did not long enjoy, having on the 10th of March 1770, made also his exit suddenly. His youngest brother Moharick al Dowlah, a youth of about thirteen years of age, was the next Nabob. His allowance upon his accession to his nominal government, was settled by the company's forces in Bengal, at thirty two lacks a year;

year, but it was reduced in the same year 1770, to sixteen lacks by the court of directors, who had the same time reduced also the income of the minister Mahomed Raza Khawn from nine to six lacks per annum. The present Nabob of Bengal Mobareck al Dowlah, when a child, was furnished with a seraglio, in order it is supposed to accelerate the weakness and infirmities of old age, by the premature enjoyment of venery. It is probable that he will die suddenly like his two brothers. He is the only remaining son of Meer Jaffer, and considering the late fatality among the Nabobs, it is reasonable to imagine, the race of them in Bengal is very nearly at an end, as the present young prince is likely to die without issue. Perhaps at his death the company, for fear of awaking the fears and the jealousies of the eastern princes, and of the Europeans settled in Indostan, will set up at his death another pageant of sovereignty, or throw off the mask of all sort of moderation and equity, in declaring themselves without firman or sanction of the Mogul, Nabob of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, but it is to be hoped government will get the start of them, and take possession of these valuable dominions.

The day after major Knox left the army, captain Jennings shifted the encampment from Sant, which began to have a disagreeable smell to the banks of a Small Nullah, about four coss from the Canassa.

January 24, 1764, a small detachment of recovered Europeans and seapoys, with some cadets, under the command of captain Scotland, joined the army and on the 26th, captain McLean, with

with a detachment from Burdewan, consisting of about 220 European infantry, a battalion of seapoys, a European troop of horse, (of about 30 men) a troop of black cavalry (about one hundred) and two six pounders. The infantry were formed into three companies, under the command of captains Hampton, Wilding, and Scotland.

On the 30th of January, when the men were under arms, they refused to obey the word of command; on their being desired to wheel to the right, not one of them moved: the commanding officer went up to them and desired to know the meaning of this disobedience. They acquainted him, that they wanted their donation-money; that they were told before they marched, that as soon as they should have driven the enemy out of the country and come to the banks of the Caramnassa, they should immediately receive a dividend of their donation. That the enemy had been driven out of the country, and that it was some time since they had arrived at the Caramnassa, and yet they had not received any part of it. Captain Jennings told them, that they should write to the governor concerning it; that the money expected was on the road, and as soon as it should arrive they should receive their dividend. He then ordered them to the right about, dismissed them, and they went off seemingly very well satisfied.

In consequence of this disobedience captain Jennings issued out the following order.

“ It is with the utmost concern that the commanding officer sees any discontent arising amongst the troops he has the honour to command, he shall always esteem it a happiness in
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“ himself, to see them righted in every respect, as
 “ far as he can with justice allow, or they wish
 “ prudence demand: as they have hitherto shewed
 “ themselves brave and good soldiers, he hopes
 “ they will not now be guilty of any rash action,
 “ that may any way sully their former good beha-
 “ viour. In respect of the prize money, he gives
 “ his word and honour, the payment shall be made
 “ as soon as it arrives, and in case any other com-
 “ plaints happen, if they are made in a proper
 “ manner as becometh a soldier, he will endea-
 “ vour to give them all the satisfaction that lies in
 “ his power.”

The commanding officer observing the mutinous
 disposition of the troops, thought it most advise-
 able to divide them. As the grenadier's company
 appeared the most active and the most refractory,
 he detached them on the 3d of February, with a
 battalion of seapoys, a troop of black cavalry and
 two six pounders, under the command of captain
 Stibbert, to the Caramnassa. But this had not its
 desired effect, for on the 11th a little past nine in
 the forenoon, the officers were alarmed by the beat-
 ing of the assembly; the officers ran in great haste to
 the parade, where they found the European bat-
 talion already drawn up with ordered arms: one of
 the soldiers of the name of Straw appeared a little
 in their front, with his firelock rested over his arm
 like an officer of grenadiers: on the officers coming
 upon the parade he desired the whole to have a
 care; rest your firelocks, shoulder: which the
 European battalion obeyed. Captain Jennings the
 commanding officer, immediately went up to
 Straw,

Straw, asked him by what authority he took upon him to command them? who answered by the authority of his companions; and pointed to the battalion. On this captain Jennings laid hold of him by the breast and was going to carry him to the quarter-guard, when the battalion observing it, marched forward in a body with charged arms. Upon this, captain Jennings quitted his hold of Straw, and asked the battalion their reason for such a behaviour. They replied, that they some time ago had applied for their prize-money, but had no hopes of getting it; they were therefore determined to go to Patná, and if it was not paid to them there, they were resolved on going down to Calcutta and make the governor and council pay them; but that they previously would go to the caramnassa and take the grenadiers company down with them. Captain Jennings to quiet them, told them that he would immediately collect what money he could among the officers, and should in the mean time send to the Nabob, and that a part of their donation should be immediately paid; but they paid no regard to what he said, and their major Straw ordered them to face to the right, and they immediately marched off to the caramnassa. Upon this captain Jennings recommended it to the officers, non-commissioned as well as commissioned, to follow the battalion, and endeavour to prevail on them to return to their duty; and he himself took a short cut to the detachment at the caramnassa under the command of captain Stibbert. There were none of the non-commissioned officers who would venture to follow the battalion, and so great were the apprehensions of the officers in

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regard to the intention of the soldiers, that only captain Martin, ensign Davie and Mr. Allan, a cadet, who had been a serjeant in the 84th regiment, and was then adjutant to the European regiment, had the courage to proceed. Before the men got half way to the caramnassa, a French man of Mr. Martin's own company took him on one side, and told him in French that they were going to desert to Sujah al Dowlah, therefore desired him to put himself at their head, and that he should be their general. To this the captain, a man of honour, conduct and resolution, gave an equivocal answer, and by degrees dropt in the rear, when he put spurs to his horse and rode back to the camp. When he got there he found that captain Jennings had gone by another road to the caramnassa: ensign Davie and Mr. Allan, two spirited and trusty officers remained with the men, using all the arguments they were masters of to prevail on them to return back, but to no purpose. When they came within sight of the detachment at the caramnassa, these two gentlemen stopped the battalion, and represented to them, that undoubtedly the detachment in sight, which consisted of two battalions of seapoys, the grenadier's company and two six pounders would be drawn out against them. This for a while staggered them, but the word being given to march, ensign Davie left them and ran to the detachment, where he found captain Jennings and several of the officers. Captain Jennings asked ensign Davie what he thought the intention of the people were; he gave it as his opinion that the men intended to desert: oh no, replied the captain, what! Englishmen desert! a dram and a biscuit will

will send them all back again. Ensign Davie said, that if they were all Englishmen he should think so too, but the two-thirds of them were foreigners.

Captain Jennings apprehensive of the mutinous disposition of the grenadiers company had sent them off to camp, by another road before the battalion appeared. When the battalion came near the detachment they halted in a hollow for some little time, which I imagine was to consult how they were to act in case the seapoys and guns were drawn out against them. When they saw no disposition made to oppose them, they marched on again, and when they came up to the detachment, captain Jennings ordering them to halt, remonstrated against their ill behaviour, desired them to return to their duty, and assured them all should be forgiven; that those who were for a dram and a biscuit and were willing to march back with him should hold up their hands; upon which there was a very great shew of hands: but the French who were inclined secretly to desert, were afraid that the least delay would frustrate all their schemes, they called saee to the right, and away they marched. Though not a single seapoy from the army went off with the Europeans, yet those of the detachment, as if the Europeans had the power of attraction, flew to their muskets, and about six hundred of them got under arms. What prompted them to this menacing intimation they did not know; for the Europeans had never spoke a word to them. The Europeans immediately crossed the caramassa, and the seapoys accompanied them; they were followed by captains Sibbert and Mor-

gan. Lieutenant Eyres and ensign David Stibbert endeavoured to get back the seapoys; Morgan and Davie, the Europeans, and lieutenant Eyres the cavalry. They prevailed on numbers to return; all the English came back excepted three, one of which returned the following day. About three hundred of the seapoys returned also to their duty.

The officers remained with them till they found their situation very disagreeable, and thought it prudent to return to the camp. Lieutenant Eyres, wishing to get back some of the cavalry, he being an officer of horse, went farther than the rest. At last he was told by the men, that if he went farther they would carry him off with them, upon which he thought it most adviseable to leave them to themselves, and returned to the camp.

It is necessary to observe, that one La Marr who had been a serjeant in the 84th regiment, and at this time a serjeant in the company's service, had been disappointed in his views; he had fancied to himself, that he was to have been one of the three or four brave serjeants of the 84th regiment, whom major Adams recommended to the governor and council to be appointed cadets in the company's service, and to take their rise. He declared that major Adams had made him a promise to get him appointed a cadet in the company's service. The disappointment he had met with made him lay a plot to ruin that service, in which he had no hopes of preferment. His father it seems was a French refugee, and he himself was master of the French language; this favoured his scheme, as he could with ease express himself to the foreigners.

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“ The share of each serjeant is eighty rupees ; corporals and bombardiers of artillery the same ; corporals of the battalion and gunners of artillery sixty rupees, private soldiers, mattrosses and drummers, forty rupees ; havildars, twelve rupees ; staics nine rupees, and seapoys six rupees.”

No sooner were the seapoys made acquainted with the distribution of the donation, than a spirit of discontent arose amongst them, they thought themselves ill used, and that they had not got a proper share. To get themselves redressed, they followed the recent example of the Europeans. Accordingly the next day the 13th, about nine o'clock in the morning they took to their arms. Captain Jennings the commanding officer not knowing the intention of the seapoys, or how far they might proceed, immediately ordered the European battalion under arms, with two six pounders, and drew them up across the parade, with an intenteon not only to prevent them mixing with the Europeans, but also their seizing on the Artillery Park. Soon after this disposition, Captain M'Lean's battalion that was stationed to the left, came rushing down upon them in a confused manner. At first Captain Jennings gave orders to oppose the seapoy battalion, but observing by this manner of their proceeding they meant no harm, ordered the Europeans to open and let the seapoys pass thro' the ranks if they would go quietly ; he was providentially time enough to whip the match out of the artillery officer's hand, just when he was putting it to a gun loaded with grape shot. The seapoys as Captain Jennings foresaw, passed through the ranks without

without offering the least insult, and when they had joined Captain Smith's battalion stationed on the right; they marched over the Nullah; on the banks of which we were encamped, and proceeded towards the Caramnassa. One of the battalions did not mutiny. However, Captain Jennings till he saw the issue of this affair, drew out the European battalion, and all the artillery of the park in front of the magazine. In the mean time, the European officers and all the principal black officers of these two battalions went after them, and before they got half a mile beyond the Nullah they persuaded them to return to their duty without the desertion of one man. The Europeans behaved with great submission in this transaction, and seemed to be truly sensible of their misconduct on the 11th, and were willing to repair it. Captain Jennings in the the critical situation he found himself by the disposition of the troops, thought it advisable to retire from the confines of Sujah Dowlah's country, whose intentions towards us at this time began to be suspected. For this purpose he recalled the detachment at the caramnassa under the command of captain Stibbert, and on the 16th the army marched from Sant, and on the 19th encamped at Safferam. The second of March captain Smith with his battalion of seapoys and one six pounder, was ordered to march to take Rotasgur; however, this battalion was recalled by major Carnac before they got to the place. The 5th, the army marched to the banks of the Loane, where major Carnac found them.

N. B. Straw who acted as major to the Europeans when they first went from camp, did all in
his

his power to bring his companions back to their duty, when he found that the foreigners intended to desert. Captain Jennings, though a stranger in the company's service, was an excellent officer; his prudence and resolution in the judicious measures, he took to quell the mutinous spirit of his army, proved that he was in every respect qualified to command. His skill and judgment were not confined to his department, he was equally conversant with the other branches of the military profession. Lenity and circumspection were more calculated to suppress insurrections than rigour and temerity.

Serajah al Dowlah Nabob of Oude, a prince sagacious, humane and beneficent, affected by the disasters of the vanquished and fugitive. Cossim Ali Cawn, had granted him an asylum in his dominions. This conduct perhaps more agreeable to sentiments of generosity, than to the dictates of sound policy, was represented by the company as an infraction of the ties of friendship, and alliance subsisting between them and the Indian prince, whose territories they prepared to invade with an armed force. But the laurels acquired in the glorious campaign of major Adams, faded on the brow of his timid and irresolute successor. One should be apt to imagine, by the injudicious choice of the commander appointed to punish Sujah al Dowlah for his breach of neutrality, that the company was afraid the Nabob should learn to conquer by his defeat, as the pitiful marches and countermarches, the feint advances, and ignominious retreats of the English general, far from giving the ene-

battalion of seapoys to march to the head quarters, to remain there as a guard to the commander in chief, in case of any surprize from the enemy during his innocent recreation. The troops distressed, for being deprived of the presence and protection of their general, could not conceive the motives of his inaction; though they had been told by him that the enemy was marching against them; yet they saw no disposition made to oppose them; no villages of easy defence was secured to retard their progress, no magazines established, no measures taken either for the subsistence of the army, or to act even defensively. Who ever has the least tincture of the art of war, must know, that the first care of a skilful and judicious commander is to have his army well supplied with all kinds of provisions requisite for their welfare and maintenance, and to distress the enemy, in making their situation uncomfortable for want of these very necessities.

On the 12th of March the following general orders were delivered out

“ The army is ordered to march by the left, the
 “ guns in front and rear of the Europeans, the
 “ front division of seapoys is to furnish guards to
 “ prevent the baggage from going in front or on
 “ the flanks, the quarter-guard with its own seapoys
 “ is to bring up the rear of the army and to
 “ be very careful in keeping all De Doolies together.
 “ A surgeon and one assistant is to attend
 “ them, and see that no man is admitted but what
 “ stands in need of them: the officer of the rear
 “ guard is to make his report of the number of
 “ men he brings to the new ground.”

As this order of March is the only one that was given out till the 23d of April, on the retreat of the army to Patna, the day before they made a forced march to Meer Absels gardens, we thought proper to insert it, with the view of shewing the regulation of the army in this immoveable campaign.

The army conjectured from this disposition, that they were in earnest going to the enemy; but before the day's march was finished, they were undeceived, for they found that from the ground they had left, to the place they were going to encamp, it made an angle of about 90 degrees from a direct line to the enemy. As no officers had penetration enough to guess at the impenetrable designs of the general, they were obliged to submit implicitly to his superior judgment.

On the 17th, the army arrived at Buxar; it was imagined the major intended to make a stand here, and endeavour to entice the enemy to attack him in his strong hold; but he seemed so undetermined, that the army after so many proofs of inconsistency and irresolution, began to form an opinion of the general's prudence and conduct, not so favourable as the Roman army did of Fabius in his judicious and successful procrastination. The very same day the army was ordered to march, and countermanded. The 22d, the same orders were issued, and immediately repealed. The major had given over all thoughts of remaining at Buxar, and his intention was to march to Patna; but having received an order from the board at Calcutta, to advance towards the enemy, and to oppose their hostile invasion into the provinces, he was obliged to

enemy the least notions of the first rudiments of the art of war, exhibited the most despicable shifts and blunders, that panic terror and inexperience could display. I am really afraid the reader will suspect my veracity, and tax me with an illiberal malevolence, in delineating the outlines of this shameful campaign.

The army lay encamped at Harreing. Whether major Carnac was conscious that his abilities were not adequate to the command he was to assume, or that he preferred the easy and voluptuous life of Calcutta to the toils and fatigues of the field, we cannot determine. It seems he was very dilatory in forwarding the military operations. He was appointed to direct

On the 6th of March 1764, majors Carnac and Champion joined the army which lay encamped at Harreing, under the command of captain Jennings of the artillery. Major Carnac having took the command, harangued the soldiers, and expatiated on their late ill behaviour, he told them they would soon have an opportunity to regain the confidence and affection of their commanders, and doubted not but they would wipe off the stain of their disobedience, as the enemy was coming down upon them.

The army was then in good spirits, and the European soldiers wished for an occasion to wreck their vengeance on the foreigners, the deserters, who had led them into disgrace the night before. The major's speech, enforced by the efficacy of a dram and biscuit, added fuel and impatience to the fire of the Europeans, who now thought themselves certain of having the satisfaction to meet soon in
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the field, those they seemed so eager to engage. Their ardour was soon repressed by orders diametrically opposite to the delusive speech that had served to inflame it. The European art of war, and the English discipline which had been so often an overmatch against the numerous armies of the proud and effeminate Asiatics, became in this campaign the subject of their contempt and derision. The cautious commander, instead of keeping up the spirits of his little army, and availing himself of their revived courage and emulation, let it sink gradually into supineness and inaction. He did not even order his tent to be pitched with them: and after a long time spent in suspense and uncertainty, the general, careful of the soldiers preservation, first ordered an extraordinary dram to the Europeans, for the trouble they were put to in turning out for him, and then issued out the following order:

“ All reports to be made to major Champion, who, when there is any thing extraordinary, will make his report to the commander in chief.”

After this most extraordinary order had been delivered out to the army, the general's apathy did not escape the shafts of censure and obliquy, he was severely animadverted upon for amusing himself with some trusty officers in playing at cards, and being fond of gaming. To avoid all disagreeable noise and interruption from the vicinity of a camp, the major repassed the river soon, having the same right as Cesar to say, *veni. vidi. as for vixi, c'est un autre affaire.* He fixed his head quarters at Dowdnegar, several miles distant from the camp; the next day he ordered captain Telle's battalion

ly in the opinion of the absolute necessity of marching directly towards Patna, if the army could not be supplied with provisions by any other method. The officers could not dissemble their indignation, when they saw their general detaching himself from the army, always marching in front when he ordered a retreat, and pitching his tent at such a distance from the the camp, that he seemed averse to any connection with his men. Instead of endeavouring to make them surmount these delays and omissions, by an uncommon activity, he immured himself with major Champion the second in command, captain Swinton his aid de camp, and Mr. Pearson his secretary, and all these gentlemen, who were more fond of gaming than a sedulous application to military art and discipline, played at cards almost incessantly, and admitted none to their select parties but capt. Stables occasionally, in whom they thought they could repose a trust. Experience sufficiently taught the military commanders in India, that the discipline and subordination of a handful of Europeans and seapoys, more than their courage, have made them feared and respected by the numerous legions of Indostan and their commanders : the whole depends of the good disposition that a skilful general makes of his men ; if once these grand objects are neglected, the company will soon lose its sovereignty and independency ; and these extensive and valuable acquisitions obtained by army and policy, might be wrested from their hands, in one successful campaign of the enemy. The natives may one day or other rouse from their indolence and apathy, and ashamed of their stupidity learn from their masters in

in the art of war, to conquer them in their turn; a complete victory may give them such a superiority, and inspire them with such courage, as to baffle all subsequent efforts to reduce them. Thus the misconduct of a commandet may ruin and disgrace for ever the English company; and since they have added dominion to commerce, nothing can prevent the fatal effects of the jealousy of the nations, but a standing army commanded by officers whose skill and courage have been try'd in Indostan.

The army marched on the 4th of April with this regulation.

“ The line and order of march is to be in all respects the same as usual.” With this order they advanced towards Patna. On the 13th the army encamped at Dynapoor, and the next day the left wing was moved to make room for a detachment from Bombay. When major Carnac retreated from Buxar, he sent Mr. Nicol with a small party to Dowdnegar, to fathom the Soan. The major crossed the river with his army at Monach-Gent, and having received intelligence that the enemy's advanced guard was arrived at Dowdnegar, Mr. Nicol for two days was given over as cut off; this brave officer having performed such an hazardous task, to the satisfaction of the general, appeared in the camp to the joy of his friends and acquaintances.

On the 19th, captain Morgan was ordered to Patna to recruit seapoys with all expedition.

The major, from Buxar to Disnapoor always marched in front, and according to custom pitched

to countermand the last order of the march. The major could never have a finer opportunity, than at this juncture, to raise his military character. He had been at this very time informed, that the bridge of the boats, which Sujah al Dowlah had made opposite to Bineres was broke down, so that his army was parted by the river for several days. Had the commanding officer immediately obeyed the orders of the board, fortune had done every thing he could wish to lead him to victory : but instead of gathering laurels thrown on his way, he made a most astonishing retreat.

Agreeable to the instructions he had received from the council, the major ordered on the 23d an artillery officer to be sent immediately to the mouth of the Caramnassa, to construct a bridge over it. It was also ordered that “the arms, accoutre-
“ ments and ammunitinn of the line should be re-
“ viewed, and each man to have 24 rounds of am-
“ munitinn, and a good spare flint.”

The 24th “It was recommended to the officers
“ to send off all their superfluous baggage to
“ Patna, also the soldiers.”

By this time the army was informed of the orders that the major had received from the board.

This gave them hopes that he would now act with vigour, as they found that his hands far from being tied up, had a full scope for a discretionary exertion. Indeed, the orders which the major had given out for constructing a bridge over the caramnassa, indicated a design to go in search of the enemy ; but they never were carried into execution, and divers other methods were afterwards proposed to defend the fort at Buxar. A village was levelled.

velled with the view of throwing up lines, and the major having ordered a line to be drawn from Buxar fort to a Nulla, close to the encampment, Mr. Nicol was deigned to manage the distance ; on his representation supported by the major of artillery, of the too great extent between the fort and the rivulet, the scheme was dropped. Thus the general fluctuating betwixt the fear of disobeying his orders and the uncertainty of the measures he was to pursue, shuted with expedients that betrayed a shallow irresolute mind, and made him incur the contempt of these he should have encouraged by his example and activity. No disposition of battle was even thought of ; every officer who commanded a battalion of seapoys, and the major commandant of the line were left to act at their discretions as so many independent generals. Provisions became scarce, though the army had not entered the enemy's country. The fort of Buxar, which two companies of seapoys might have defended against the army of Sujah al Dowlah, had been pointed out as a proper place for granaries, but these intimations had been disregarded. Two days after the army arrived at Buxar, it was reinforced by a detachment from Patna, commanded by six officers from the sick quarters ; this additional force should have engaged the general to begin his operations with spirit and vigour, but he still procrastinated under a pretence of holding a council with his captains, previously to any determination. On the 3d of April, he laid before them the orders he had received from the board, to march and attack the enemy, and acquainted them at the same time with the distress of the army. They agreed unanimously

ed his tent at some distance from the army: Sujah al Dowlah having been informed of these particulars, attributed to fear this precaution. He communicated his thoughts to his courtiers and generals; the former kepted him in that opinion, and the latter took care to spread in the army a report so unfavourable to the military character of the English commander. The major's secretary having brought him intelligence of this, he summoned all his courage and resolution on the 18th, and advanced as if he was at last in earnest to meet the Vizier Nabob. He marched in front as usual; "saying, he would now shew the enemy he was not afraid:" but his supineness did not answer this declaration.

The 21st, the army encamped at Sedabad, and for the first time an advanced picquet was ordered. It was evident, that the major's design was to reach Dowdnagar before the enemy, and to oppose their crossing the Soan; this should have been thought of when he took the command of the army, which then lay encamped opposite to Dowdnagar. Having found it was too late to execute this design, the order for marching the next day was countermanded. The 22d, a battalion of seapoys and two of their guns were posted in the rear of the army, which began again to be distressed for want of provisions. Captain William Smith with his battalion of seapoys, and a gun from the park, exclusive of his own, was ordered to march to Maharage Genge, in order to escort provisions to the army.

The 23d of April, the general with his army made a shameful retreat. A body of the enemy who had got betwixt them and Patna, attacked

captain Smith, who took possession of a tank, or pond, and gave the enemy such a warm reception, that they were glad to retire without their booty, and he brought the grain safe to the army : no order of march was given our.

After a forced march the army arrived at Meer Abiel's gardens ; the 25th they encamped in one line, with their right to the river ; it is a branch of the Ganges, which forms an island at this place. Meer Abiel's gardens were in the rear of the right wing : a village was levelled in front, that they might see the enemy as they advanced ; the left was open to an extensive plain. This situation was very uncomfortable : however Meer Jaffier Ali Cawn, who seemed the better general of the two, in pitching upon the ground for our entrenchments, used this expression, " that God had made it for us." He had judiciously got under cover of the walls of Patna, and threw up works in front of his encampment. The Europeans and seapoys occupied an eminence to the right of the Nabob, they had thrown up a breast work, and extended their lines to his ; they had the south-west bastion of Parna in their rear.

The 3d of May, the enemy at day break was discovered advancing towards us with their whole army in order for battle. Their regimented seapoys, with 16 pieces of cannon, came within 800 yards of the front of our line, and lay hid in a hollow way ; then a brisk cannonading ensued, the enemy attacked a captain to the right, defended by a company of seapoys of captain Wilding's battalion. They behaved with great courage and resolution, and maintained their post the whole day.

day! The enemy made several attempts to get into our rear by the right, but the battery of the south-west bastion of Ratna, which fired briskly, kept them in awe. They threw a great many rockets into major Stibbert's post, who was to the right of captain Wilding. At last, a party of the enemy took possession of a mosque about 500 yards in his front. Mr. Nicol marched out with two companies of seapoys and dispossessed them.

A few minutes before sun set the enemy began to draw off their cannon, our troops could hardly be restrained within the trenches; they wished ardently to come to action, but the commander in chief thought proper to decline an engagement, and thus check their eagerness and spirited desire to fight, on the most promising prospect of victory; for never was a fairer opportunity to attack an enemy to advantage, had the army marched out immediately of the trenches, and fallen on the enemy on their retreat, they must have inevitably taken all their cannon, and totally routed them. For some days after, a few of the enemy's horse appeared scampering about our lines, this was an additional provocation to the impatience of the intrenched army, who remained in their strong hold, till they heard the enemy had repassed the Soan; and on the 6th of June they encamped at a small distance from the lines, till cantonments were ready.

Major Champion had been detached on the 2d, with 300 Europeans rank and file, to Chapporah; these were accompanied with the company of grenadiers, two battalions of seapoys commanded by captains

captains Trevaon and Galliez, with four field pieces and a howitzer.

The intention of this detachment was to lay waste the province of Gaizypore, belonging to Bulwanfing, a tributary Rajah to Sujah al Dowlah, accordingly our troops penetrated in the province, set flames to some villages, and these who escaped the conflagration, lost all the fruits of their labour and industry, while others saw their wives and daughters exposed to the insult of a savage and rapacious soldiery, and divers outrages, which characterize ruffians and savages, not troops used to discipline and subordination. These brave officers who had gained laurels under major Adams, thought themselves disgraced to be the instruments of such barbarities, and obeyed these orders with reluctance and indignation.

Sujah al Dowlah cantoned his army in our province of Budjapore, the very place where our general should have led his army; where only true glory was to be obtained. The Nabob, to prevent incursions into his own country, sent a detachment to Garypore.

On the 17th captain Stables's battalion of seapoys was sent to reinforce major Champion, in order to assist him in the continuation of his ravages and depredations, and the operations in the field, during this passive campaign ended, by carrying terror and desolation into the defenceless cottages of an injured and innocent people, forced to leave their all at the mercy of the plunderers.

During these devastations, major Carnac received a letter from the governor and council of Calcutta, the copies of which we shall insert in our next number:

number : in consequence of that letter, the army was ordered to be in readiness to march at a moment's warning. On the 24th, major Stilbert, and the captains Spellman, Pimble, Jennings and M'Lean were desired to meet the commander in chief at his head quarters the next morning at 7 o'clock. After several fruitless deliberations, on the 2d of July the order for the march of the army, was countermanded.

The Nabob, Jaffier Ali Cawn left Patna the 27th, and on his departure for Muxadabad his capital, he was saluted with 21 guns. The next day major Carnac set out for Calcutta, and in leaving Patna was saluted with nineteen guns. Before he left the army, he gave a grand dinner to the officers, as he had been dismissed the service by the court of directors, for his opposition to the measures of Mr. Vansittart, some of the officers drinking his health by the denomination of major Carnac, the majority answered no, no longer major, but only Mr. Carnac. The gentleman however, who went first to India as lieutenant in Alder-corn's regiment, had no reason to complain of the company's service, where he had acquired an independent fortune of seventeen thousand pounds ; had he continued in the king's service he might have been yet a captain, without a seat in parliament, &c.

Thus ended this campaign, on the operations of which I need not anticipate the judgment of the readers. The command of Patna devolved to major Pimble, and that of the whole army to major Champion, who had been detached to Chap-porah.

We must now return to the new regulations of lord Clive, in his presidency. His estimates of the whole revenue of the provinces of Bengal; Bahar and Orissa (exclusive of Calcutta and the 24 Pergunnahs) were stated at 25,000,000 sicca rupees. From which he deducted,

The annual stipend provided by his lordship for the emperor Shah Allum, 2,600,000.

The annual allowance to the Nabob of Bengal; which though after was reduced, was fixed at 5,386,131.

The difference between lord Clive's treaties in August 1765, and those subsisting in governor Spencer's time, February 1765, according to his lordship's estimate, which comprehends every estimate of a permanent nature, is only one hundred and eighty two thousand, nine hundred and eighty three pounds sterling per annum, even admitting that agreeably to his lordship's estimate, 250 lacs had been actually collected; which from a variety of causes, does not seem to have been the case any one year from his lordship's establishment to this day. It is true, that the Vizier Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, upon his being restored to his country, paid the company fifty lacs of rupees, agreeably to the sixth article of the treaty as an indemnification for the charges in the war. But this being only a temporary advantage, against which must be also placed the extraordinary charge of that campaign; it cannot with propriety be included in the articles of a permanent annual revenue.

If then we place against the 182,983l. in favour of lord Clive's, the 4000,000l. now paid annually to government, and the additional improvements
which

which might have been most reasonably expected from Bulwansing's zemindary. It must be allowed that his lordship's alterations upon assuming the Dewannee, have been no way conducive to the advantage of the company, even without bringing to account the unerring increase in the charges of the civil and military establishments, which has been another ill consequence, by almost destroying the whole revenue.

The court of East India directors were so sensible of this greatly encreasing charge, than in their letter to the select committee, dated 16th of March 1768, wherein after estimating what the various articles of increase in their military and other charges would amount to, exclusive of what might be paid to the Marattes, if their treaty with that nation should come to a conclusion, they thus proceed, in the 140th paragraph:

“ When these calculations are made, you will find we already approach the utmost limits of what expence can be afforded from the revenues, and should there be occasion for any military operations, it will be found we have not altered our situation much to our advantage, but have only exchanged a certain profit in commerce, for a precarious one in the revenue.”

By what has been said before it is clear, that the Nabobs of Bengal are no other than the tools of the East India company, and their representatives in Asia, through whom not only the natives, but even Englishmen have been exposed to every species of oppression; for so grievous has been the situation of British subjects in those countries, that it was in fact in the power of the governor of Bengal.

gal, whenever he pleased to deprive any one of so much of his property as laid within the Nabob's dominions, or even of his life; and it was impossible to obtain justice against such offenders.

The only land which the English East India company legally held by a regular grant from a real Mogul, was that the emperor Tarrakhfeer granted them in the year 1717, which was not quite fifteen acres, where they established their factories; consequently all the tenures of such territories and revenues, as have been taken by the English company beyond this grant, are not legally valid according to the constitution of the Mogul empire; but possessions acquired and held either by violence or usurpation.

Lord Clive's farther security for his jaghire, was it seems the motive of the bold step he took, in assuming the dewannee. In this state of the company's affairs, before his last voyage to India, it was possible that the litigation respecting this jaghire, by which he had been made a Lord of the company's lands, which were thereby freed from all dependence, might be revived, or that even government might interfere therein. In case the company had been averse to his lordship continuing in the enjoyment of it, he could never have obtained satisfaction from the lawless courts of Indostan, to which in the opinion of our most eminent lawyers, the point must at last have been referred for decision. Every step therefore, tending farther to establish the authority of the new made Mogul Shah Allum, as emperor, and to make the company appear to hold all they possessed under his sanction, in confirming the grant
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of his lordship's jaghire, added weight to his own claim; and the additional allowance of twenty-six lack of rupees per annum, which the noble president provided for this nominal emperor, was binding him by interest to his lordship's side. The judicious governor Vanitart, with his council had towards the year 1764, established a factory in the capital city of Banares, consisting of a chief and council for the collection of the revenues of that territory; this place was likewise more advantageously situated for increasing the sale of broad cloth and other staple articles imported by the company than any other factory they possessed. Lord Clive and his secret committee, upon relinquishing this zemindary resolved also to withdraw the factory, and without consulting the servants of the company employed in that department, were pleased to fix the revenues of the country for the last year: they had resolved the company should possess it, at twenty lack of ruppees, tho' it is well known that the Rajah collected near four times that sum. His brother was inclined to offer forty-five lack per annum, for that district, about the time it was given up by his lordship. In a very short time the company might, without injustice or extortion, after making every equitable allowance to the zemindar, have collected fifty lack, and upon his demise, by keeping the lands in their own hands, it would have soon yielded eighty lacks or one million sterling per annum.

When the English company assumed the sovereignty of the Bengal provinces in 1765, Mr. Francis Sykes was appointed by the president and select committee at Calcutta, the company's re-

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sident at the durbar, or the Nabob's court, at the capital of Murshhadabad, to adjust the revenues of the provinces, and settle the arrears as jagheerders, as being a part of their business. This gentleman without any check, was likewise solely entrusted with the direction of the Nabob, and his officers superintended the interior collections, and the administration of justice in countries more extensive and more populous than Great Britain ; at that very time this gentleman was chief of the company's factory at Cassibezar, where most of their silk and great part of their other Bengal articles are provided.

The amount of the whole revenues of Bengal and its dependencies as adjusted by Mr. Sykes in the same year 1765, was estimated three millions, six hundred and thirty thousand, six hundred and seventy-six pounds sterling, valuing the sicca rupees two shillings and eight pence; the same gentleman subscribed to and declared it to be his opinion, that the whole would be collected in the year 1766, without oppressing the inhabitants. Lord Clive likewise gave his opinion upon this statement of the Bengal revenues, in his letter to the court of directors, dated Calcutta the 30th of September 1765, in the following words.

“ Your revenue, by means of this new acquisition (meaning the Dewannee) will as near as I can judge, not fall short for the ensuing year, of 250 lacks of sicca rupees, including your former possessions of Burdewan, &c. hereafter they will at least amount to 20 or 30 lacks more. Your civil and military expences in time of peace can never exceed 60 lacks of rupees. The
“ Nabob's

“ Nabob’s allowances are already reduced to 42
 “ lacks, and the tribute to the king is fixed at
 “ 26, so that there will be remaining a clear gain
 “ to the company of 122 lacks of licca rupees,
 “ or 1,650,900l. sterling, which will defray all the
 “ expences of the investments, furnish the whole
 “ of the China treasure, answer the demands of all
 “ your other settlements in India, and leave a
 “ considerable balance in your treasury besides. In
 “ time of war, when the country may be subject
 “ to the incursions of bodies of cavalry, we shall,
 “ notwithstanding be able to collect a sufficient
 “ sum for our civil and military exigencies, and
 “ likewise for our investments ; because a very
 “ rich part of the Bengal and Bahar dominions are
 “ situated to the eastward of the Ganges, where we
 “ can never be invaded. What I have given you
 “ is a real, not an imaginary state of your reve-
 “ nues, and you may be assured they will not fall
 “ short of my computation.”

From these authorities, we may judge of the im-
 proveable state of the revenues in Bengal, in the
 year 1765. They might easily without oppression
 to the inhabitants, have been improved by this time
 to six millions sterling ; while by an improper ma-
 nagement, they have yearly fallen short of that
 very statement, and will probably decrease, till an
 effectual system of reformation be established.

We are now to consider a monopoly the most
 cruel in its nature, and most destructive in its con-
 sequences to the company’s affairs in Bengal, of all
 that have of late been established there. Perhaps
 it stands unparalleled in the history of any govern-
 ment, that ever existed on earth, considered as

a public act. When we consider the man who promoted such exclusive dealings in what may be there considered as necessaries of life, our astonishment is still greater.

Lord Clive's professions of disinterestedness to the directors, having influenced them to nominate him to the government of Bengal, with a select committee consisting of his lordship, the president, Mr. William Birghtwell Sumner, brigadier general Carnac, Messieurs Harry Verelst, and Francis Sykes. They were invested with powers to pursue whatever means they should judge most proper to attain the desirable ends of restoring and establishing peace and tranquility in Bengal. The orders which the court of directors were pleased to give upon the subject of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco trade, in the letter to their presidency at Bengal, dated the 1st of June 1764, were the following,

" You are hereby ordered and directed, as soon
 " after the receipt of this as may be convenient,
 " to consult the Nabob, as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, and the other articles produced and consumed in the country, which may be most to his satisfaction and advantage, the interest of the company, and likewise of the company's servants.

" You are therefore to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the said trade, and transmit the same to us, accompanied with such explanations, observations and remarks, as may enable us to give our sentiments and directions thereupon, in a full and explicit manner.

" In

“ In doing this as before observed, you are to
 “ have a particular regard to the interest and en-
 “ tire satisfaction of the Nabob, both with respect
 “ to his revenues and a proper support of his go-
 “ vernment; in short, this plan must be settled
 “ with his free will and consent, and in such a man-
 “ ner as not to afford any just grounds of com-
 “ plaints.”

The great advantage to be made in Bengal, from a monopoly of these three articles, of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, was among the first which the manoeuvres of the dewannee presented to lord Clive and his associate reformers, of which they did not fail to avail themselves. All the company's servants, down to a certain rank, were put upon the list, without asking their concurrence, or acquainting them with the particulars of the plan. Thus the committee, contrary to the orders and intentions of the court of directors, and to his lordship's most solemn declarations, determined on an universal monopoly of these three articles, the profits of which were to be divided amongst themselves, and such others of the company's servants as they thought proper. Thus considering the monopoly even as a just establishment, was a manifest injury to several of the junior servants, who from their own knowledge and industry, gained in a fair way of trade considerably more than the share allotted to them by this system produced. Most of them disapproved the plan, but it would have been dangerous to have publicly expressed their discontent. They were obliged to sign a long indenture, authorizing the committee of trade to conduct the business, though they did not know the particulars
 of

of the plan, had any of the junior servants shewn a dislike for this measure, he might have probably been dismissed the service. The proceedings of the select committee on this occasion were in substance as follows

At a Committee held at Fort William the 10th of August 1765.

Present,
William Brightwell Sumner, Esq, President, and
Verelst Esq.

It is now agreed,

First, that the whole trade shall be carried on by an exclusive company formed for that purpose, and consisting of all those who may be deemed justly intitled to a share, that a proper fund shall be raised by a loan at interest for the supply and support of the same, and that it shall commence in the month of September ensuing, or as soon as may be found most convenient

2dly, That the salt, beetle nut and tobacco produced in or imported into Bengal, shall be purchased by this established company, and public advertisements shall be issued, strictly prohibiting all other persons whatsoever who are dependent on our government, to deal in these articles

3dly, That application shall be made to the Nabob to issue the like prohibition to all his officers and subjects, of the districts where any quantity of either of those articles is manufactured or produced

By

By the fourth, salt was to be purchased by contract on the most reasonable terms giving the preference to the factories of Decca, Chittigong, Burdwan and Midnapore for the produce of their respective districts and to such persons as may offer the most reasonable proposals for the quantity produced in the Calcutta lands.

By the fifth, the beetle nut and tobacco was in like manner to be purchased, by contract upon the levies most conformable to the interest of the concerned.

By the eighth, the salt, beetle nut and tobacco thus purchased by the public company was to be transported to certain peculiar places for sale to be there only disposed of by their agents

By the ninth article, it was agreed, that application should be made to the English for pervannahs, strictly ordering the inhabitants of the districts of Decca and Chittigong, to contract for all the salt that can be made on their lands with the English alone, and forbidding the sale to any other persons whatsoever.

Several other articles being settled, advertisements wrote in different languages were posted up in several parts of the town, for limiting the inland trade in the three articles mentioned, and vesting an exclusive right to carry it on in a society of proprietors by a pretended authority from the company, with the Nabob's acquiescence. All persons dependent upon the company's government, were strictly prohibited from dealing directly or indirectly in salt, beetle nut and tobacco, unless as contractors for the purchase and sale of these articles, with the society of trade.

Thirdly

Thirdly, after another select committee was held upon the subject of this monopoly, of whose proceedings the following is an extract :

At a select Committee held at Fort William the 18th September 1765.

Present. The right honourable lord Clive, president, William B. Sumner, John Carnac, Harry Verelst, and Francis Sykes Esqrs.

Resuming the consideration of the plan for carrying on the inland trade, the committee are unanimously of opinion, that whatever surplus-money the company may find themselves possessed of, after discharging their several demands. At this presidency; the same will be employed more to their benefit and advantage in supplying largely that valuable branch of their commerce, the China trade, and in assisting the wants of their other settlements, and and that it will be more for their interest to be considered as superiors of this trade ; and receive a handsome duty upon it, than to be engaged as proprietors in the stock; it is agreed that the inland trade of the above articles shall be subject to a duty to the company, after the following rates, calculated according to the advantage which might be expected to accrue to the proprietors.

On salt, thirty-five per cent, valuing the hundred maunds (a valuable weight in Bengal from 70 to 80 pounds) at the rate of ninety Arcot rupees; and in consideration thereof the present callery duty to be abolished : callery is a salt work.

On beetle nut, ten per cent on the prime cost.

On tobacco, twenty-five per cent on ditto.

With respect to the proprietors, it was resolved to arrange them into three classes, each class to be in-

be entitled to so many shares in the stock agreed upon, in order to ascertain the value of each share.

According to this scheme, it was agreed that the first class should consist of the governors five shares, the second in council three shares, the general three shares, ten gentlemen of the council two shares each, two colonels two shares each; in all, thirty five shares for the first class.

The second class consisted of the chaplain, two lieutenant-colonels, fourteen senior and junior merchants, entitled to eighteen shares.

The third class consisting of factors, majors and surgeons; in all thirty three, were entitled to nine shares.

Among the plausible reasons alledged for the establishment of this monopoly, it was said to be intended as a means to prevent the oppression of the inhabitants of the country; to remove the general odium which had prevailed, of the English seeking to deprive them of every part of their trade, and to render all possible satisfaction to the court of directors.

The private reasons assigned by lord Clive, for this establishment, in a separate letter to the court of directors, are no less astonishing; they are as follow.

Par. 16. "The necessity of rewarding the superior servants, both civil and military, is obvious, since the large investment required by the company makes it impossible for individuals who perform their duty to acquire any thing considerable by private trade. The means of regulating this reward have frequently employed my attention, and

after the most mature deliberation, I have found none so convenient, proper or equitable as the trade in salt. If you grant a commission upon the revenues the sum will not only be large but known to the world. The allowance being publicly ascertained, every man's proportion will at all times be the occasion of much discourse, envy and jealousy: The great will interfere in your appointments, and noblemen will perpetually solicit you to provide for the younger branches of their families. A commission upon your investment, whether upon the provision in Bengal, or the sales in Europe, is liable to the same objections. But if you allow your servants the liberty of benefiting themselves by the trade in salt, the following conveniencies will result:

Par. 17. 1^{mo}. "An advance of four hundred thousand or five hundred thousand pounds is required for carrying on the trade. If it be carried on by your servants, the advance and the risk will be theirs: if it be carried on by you, the money must be advanced out of the treasury, at your risk, and you will consequently have the less species to send home.

Par. 18. d^{do}. "It is very easy to proportion it in such a manner that your servants shall not gain to a larger amount than they are in justice and equity entitled to.

Par. 19. 3^{to}. "By the bringing it to Calcutta and Dacca, and by the loss of boats, by the failure of contractors and many other accidents, the profits must always be precarious and uncertain, and consequently unknown, except to the few who may take the trouble to investigate the matter.

Par.

Par. 20. 4^{to}. "It will be looked upon as a profit arising from trade, and not from the pockets of the company, which might be urged, if rewards were given out of the revenues. But here you can assert, that this indulgence, the only equitable one you have to grant, is in consideration of the large investments ordered, which, if complied with, must swallow up the trade of individuals; and indeed, if this indulgence be properly proportioned, all those servants, who by their age and standing are entitled to emoluments, would have no reason to complain, even were they altogether excluded from every article of trade which can interfere with the company's investments.

Par. 22. "It is an erroneous opinion, that salt was formerly an open trade, it ever was, and ever must be a monopoly. Some great favourite *, or favourites always had the whole in their own hands, for which he not only paid an annual Peshcush,

I i i 2

cush,

* In the time of the Nabob Allaverdy Khawn, his favourite, Cogee Wazeed, was irregularly allowed to farm the trade in salt: but that merchant sold his salt then at five hundred per cents cheaper than it was sold after the establishment by this committee of the monopoly now under consideration. In many parts of Bengal, Cogee Wazeed used to sell his salt for forty, fifty, or sixty rupees per hundred maunds: and at Patna before this monopoly took place, at one time, the market price of salt was so low as one hundred and fifty rupees per hundred Maunds. After this monopoly was established, salt was sold in many parts of Bengal for upwards of three hundred rupees per hundred maunds, and in some parts of the Patna province it was raised to upwards of eight hundred and fifty rupees per hundred maunds.

cush, or acknowledgment in money to the Subah, but likewise gave considerable presents both in money and curiosities to him and to his ministers. But the natives can have no just cause of complaint, provided they be furnished with this article more reasonably than formerly, which will certainly be the case, if the plan sent home by the Cruttenden be adopted with a few amendments."

And in the general letter from the select committee of Calcutta to the court of directors, dated the 30th September 1765, signed by the right honourable lord Clive, William Brightwell Sumner; John Carnac, Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, Esquires, after a more mature consideration of this business, they give their sentiments in the following words:

Par. 32. "By consulting our proceedings of the 10th of August and 18th September 1765, you will be able to judge of the progress we have made in carrying your orders into execution relative to the trade in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco. This subject we considered with all the attention possible, and regard to your interest and the good of the service. We found, that to remove the inconveniencies of a free trade, prevent the oppressions daily committed, save this valuable article of commerce from ruin, and diffuse the benefits resulting, indiscriminately, among all your servants intitled to dusticks, it was necessary to vest the whole in an exclusive company."

The select committee having formed those regulations for the carrying on of this trade, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Verelst and two other gentlemen of coun-

cil were accordingly constituted a committee of trade, for receiving charge of the plan and managing it, on behalf of the body of proprietors; with authority to correspond with the subordinate factories, and to pursue all such measures as might, conformably thereto, appear to them eligible and proper. And the necessary advices and orders were accordingly given to the subordinates, and publications of prohibition were issued throughout the provinces.

The capital stock appointed by the select committee to be raised for carrying on this trade, originally was current rupees 2,422,333—5—4, or at 26 pence per current rupee, 262,420*l.* sterling; which was divided into 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ shares of 43,000 current rupees each share, and the profits which might arise were appointed to be proportionably distributed as follows.

| | Persons. | Shares each. | Total Shares. | Capital Stock. |
|---------------------|----------|--------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| To the Right Hon | | | | |
| L. Clive | 1 | 5 | 5 | 215,000 |
| William Brightwell | | | | |
| Sumner, Esq. | 1 | 3 | 3 | 129,000 |
| General Carnac | 1 | 3 | 3 | 129,000 |
| To ten Counsellors | | | | |
| and two Colonels. | 12 | 2 | 24 | 1,032,000 |
| | | | | <u>1,505,000 0 0</u> |
| To Chaplain, Senior | | | | |
| and junior Mer- | | | | |
| and Lieut Cols | 18 | 2 3d | 12 | 516,000 0 0 |
| To Factors, Majors, | | | | |
| and Surgeons | 28 | 2 3d. | 9 1 3d. | 401 833 5 4 |
| Persons 61 | | | 56 1 3d. C. rup | <u>2,422,333 5 4</u> |

The farce of using the Nabob's name was thought convenient to be played, as is usual in all dark

dark acts of this double government. The reader will have perceived, as well in the proceedings of the committee as in the foregoing English advertisement, that this Nabob, if he must be so called, is introduced as joining with the committee, and consenting to the ruin of his subjects, the poor people of the country, who could not, for that reason, pretend to, or entertain even a hope of redress.

This Nabob, therefore, was actually made to issue orders to all the zemindars, or hereditary landholders of the country, to attend at Calcutta, and enter into bond, to trade with the committee only. An order of the committee, to the same purpose, went forth at the same time : and the zemindars were forced to repair to Calcutta, and enter into bonds accordingly, of which orders and bonds the following are copies.

Translation from the Persian, of the Nabob's order, to one of the zemindars of the country, dated the of Saffier, or the August 1765.

“ In the gomastah of Luckynarain, chowdry of the Pergunnah of Jollamootah. Be it understood, that a request has been made by the governor and the gentlemen of the committee and council, to this purport, “ that until the contracts for salt of the said gentlemen are settled, no salt shall be made, or got ready in any district ; that a gomastah be sent to attend on the said gentlemen, and having given a bond, he may then proceed to his business, and make salt ; but till the bond be
given

given to the governor and the gentlemen of the committee and council, they should make none." Therefore, this order is written, that you send, without delay, your gomastah to the said gentlemen in Calcutta, and give your bond, and settle your business; and then proceed to the making of salt. In case of any delay, it will not be for your good. Regard this as a strict order."

Translation, from the Persian, of an order to one of the zemindars, under the seal of the committee.

The Seal of The English Society
of Merchants for
buying and selling all
the Salt, Beetle-nut
and Tobacco in the
Province of Bengal,
Bahar and Orissa, &c. the Committee.

"Trusty and well beloved, Anundelal, we greet you well. Whereas it has been resolved, that whatever salt shall be procurable in the salt works of the subahship of Bengal, &c. the trade thereof shall be referred to the English Sircar*, and shall not be meddled with by others; to which purpose a Perwannah from his excellency, the Nabob, has issued.

"Therefore this order is written, that the moment it reaches your hands you are to send a Vakeel

* State or government. Here it means the company.

keel and a trusty Gômastah, that he may come here and receive the Nabob's Perwanah and act in obedience to the same, and settle the trade of your salt with the governor and the gentlemen."

Translation of one of the Mutchulcahs, or obligatory bonds, taken from the Zemindars.

"I Jadooram, Chowdry of the Pergunnah of Deroodumna, in the district of Ingellee, agreably to an order which has issued from the Nabob to this purpose, "That I should attend upon the gentlemen of the committee and council, in order to settle my trade in salt, and that I should not deal with any other person;" do accordingly oblige myself, and give this writing, that, excepting the said gentlemen called, The English society of merchants for buying and selling all the salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, &c. I will on no account trade with any other person for the salt to be made in the year 1173 (Bengal stile), and without their order I will not otherwise make away with, or dispose of a single grain of salt; but whatever salt shall be made within the dependencies of my zemindary, I will faithfully deliver it all, without delay, to the said society, and I will receive the money according to the agreement which I shall make in writing; and I will deliver the whole and entire quantity of the salt produced, and, without the leave of the said committee, I will not carry to any other place, nor sell to any other person a single measure of salt. If such a thing should be proved against me, I will
pay

pay to the Sircar of the said society a penalty of five rupees for every maund. In witness whereof I have written this, by way of obligation. Dated the September 1765.

Orders of this kind were issued to all the Rajahs and Zemindars of the Pergunnahs where salt was to be had, by virtue of which the produce of the whole country was engrossed by the committee, who paid at the rate of 75 rupees per 100 maunds, for what was sold in many places for upwards of 500 rupees per 100 maunds, which in effect was making a poor inhabitant pay at the rate of 6 1-half rupees for a quantity of salt which, in the common course of the trade, he would have bought for one rupee.

The extraordinary shares of the profits of this public monopoly to which the select committee-gentlemen helped themselves, were not the only advantages they reaped from it. From the regulations which they in their select committee, had previously agreed upon, they were first apprized of the sudden effects which those regulations could not fail of producing, in raising the price of salt all over the country. They therefore availed themselves of this fore-knowledge, and established a private society among themselves, for buying up as much as they could of the ready-made salt, which lay dispersed in different parts. Mr. Verelst who conducted this separate concern, and was one of their committee, under the cloak usually assumed on such extraordinary occasions, of its being for the benefit of the company's affairs, was (at his own recommendation) appointed to a new and un-

precedented employment, that of supervisor of the provinces of Burdwan and Midnipore, where great quantities of salt are produced. This gave Mr. Verelst an opportunity of associating himself with the junior servants under him at Burdwan, in a contract for delivering to the committee all the salt produced in that province, which he accordingly did; as may be seen in the copy of an indenture executed with the committee upon this occasion.

The concerned in the said private society, which was very extensive in its operations, were the right honourable lord Clive, William Brightwell Sumner, general John Carnac, Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, esquires.

No means were neglected, by the gentlemen concerned in this private society, to engross the whole of the ready-made salt in the country: and such methods were sometimes taken by their agents, or gomastahs, as obliged the owners to part with what salt they had on hand for whatever those agents were pleased to offer. And tho' the interest of the country and company were alledged on other occasions to be greatly injured by permitting European agents to reside in the inland parts of the country, nevertheless, upon the present occasion, those pretended inconveniencies were overlooked; and in consequence of an application from the committee of trade to the select committee, several gentlemen were appointed and stationed at the following different places, as agents for the sales of the committee's salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; viz.

Messrs,

Messrs. Charles Blomer at Dinagepore,
 Pitt Lethieulier, Burgunga,
 Hugh Baillie, Gulparah,
 Thomas Lewis, Rungpore,
 William Bensley, Carangola,
 John Robinson, Nabobgunge,
 James Hargrave, Chilmary,
 John Corfar, Silhett and Patna,
 William Semple, Rajabarry,
 Abraham Leslie, besides others,
 who were sent to Backergunge and Nabobgunge
 to build boats.

The gentlemen concerned in the private society did not fail to avail themselves of the services of these agents of the 'public monopoly, for the disposal of their private salt. In consequences of an application for that purpose from the partners in the committee of Trade below, to the partners in the select committee above, licence was easily obtained, as may be seen by the following short proceedings upon the occasion

“ At a select committee, held the 9th of January, 1766;

Present, the right honourable lord Clive, president, William Brightwell Sumner, Esq, and brigadier general Carnac.

Received a letter from the committee of trade, requesting leave for their agents to dispose of the
 K k k 2 balan-

balances of salt belonging to private merchants, now on hand, which they imagine will conduce to the interest of the society.

Agreed, we acquaint the committee of trade, that we grant their request, in consideration they think it will be a public benefit."

The estimate of the profits arising upon the first year's trade of this public monopoly, which among other India papers was laid before the honourable house of commons, in the year 1768, was greatly under rated. The real net profits on the first year's stock which have been actually received by the concerned, down to the month of December 1770, exclusive of their shares of large outstanding debts still coming in, have been nearly as follow, viz

| | Persons | Shares each | Total Shares | Net profit of the first year & capital |
|----------------------|---------|-------------|--------------|--|
| The Rt. Hon Rob | | | | |
| Ld Clive | 1 | - 5 | - 5 | £ Sterling 21,179 4 0 |
| William Brightwell, | | | | |
| Sumner Esq | 1 | - 3 | - 3 | - - 12 707 10 0 |
| General Carnac | 1 | - 3 | - 3 | - - 12 707 10 0 |
| Ten Counsellors and | | | | |
| two Colonels | 12 | - 2 | - 24 | - - 101 660 4 0 |
| Chaplain, ten or and | | | | |
| - junior in rights, | | | | |
| and Lieut cols | 18 | - 2 3d | - 12 | - - 50,830 2 0 |
| Factors majors and | | | | |
| doctors | 28 | - 2 3d | - 9 1 3d | 39 534 10 0 |
| Persons 62 | | | 56 1 3d | £ Sterling 238 610 0 0 |

The court of East India directors repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, forbade this monopoly in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, and particularly in their general letter to Bengal per the lord Cambden,

den, dated the 19th February 1766; wherein they positively directed their governor and council to make a formal renunciation, by some solemn act to be entered on their records, of all right to trade in those articles; directing their said Presidency to transmit such renunciation in form to the Nabob, in the Persian language, with adding these express words: "Whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen occurrences may arise, it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid this trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco."

In all their subsequent letters they continued to repeat this prohibition, giving as their sentiments, that "such innovations and illegal traffic had laid the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres and confusion which had happened in Bengal."

Upon receipt of these repeated orders from England, the right honourable president and the gentlemen of the select committee took them again into their serious consideration. However, they did not proceed to abolish the monopoly, but determined upon continuing it for another year; wisely increasing the duties to be received upon the trade by the company, to such an amount as might either secure their consent and approbation of the system from the magnitude of the sum, or their connivance at it, so far as to prevent retrospects, from the difficulties of refunding, and of being themselves so deeply involved in the plan.

As the reasons which were given for this continuation of the monopoly are no less curious than those which were given for its original establishment, and will best speak for themselves to the intelligent

telligent reader, we shall give them at large from the original proceedings.

“ At a select committee, held the 3d September 1766.

Present, The right honourable lord Clive, president, brigadier general Carnac, and Harry Verelst, esquire.

After mentioning, that the Court of directors had recommended to his lordship, to consider of a plan for settling the salt trade, his lordship proceeds in his minute as follows “ By all their letters of last year, and by several of this, the directors still seemed inclined to wait for our representation, but by their letter of the 19th February last, by the lord Cambden, they positively forbid their servants to have any concern whatsoever in this trade At that time indeed, they could not have had the least idea of the favourable change in the affairs of these provinces, whereby the interest of the Nabob with regard to salt is no longer immediately concerned When we first took this important matter into consideration, I joined in opinion with the rest of the committee, that if the trade could be put upon such a footing, that the Nabob should receive more than had been received by any of his predecessors, the company be amply considered, the natives become purchasers upon terms full as reasonable as in former times; the servants might be indulged in the privilege, under such certain rules and restrictions as would make the trade carry with it as little as possible the odious

odious form of a monopoly. These points having been settled, I consented to the plan laid down last year; my absence from the presidency, the multiplicity of affairs then in agitation, wherein the peace and tranquillity of the provinces, the interest of the company, and the honour of the nation were more immediately concerned, prevented my paying that attention I could have wished to that important object. Although by the acquisition of the Dewannee, the whole of the duties belong to the company, and by the diligence and zeal of the members of the committee of trade, many useful reformatiions had taken place, yet from my observations, when I was last up the country, and from the heavy complaints against Europeans for the monopoly of trade in general, I find that the industrious native is still deprived of that share to which he has an undoubted and more natural right; nor is it yet upon that equitable footing which justice as well as humanity would incline this committee to establish. A few weeks more must bring us the final resolution of the court of directors, in answer to our dispatches by the admiral Stevens, and if, notwithstanding the present situation of their affairs, they should think proper to repeat their orders per lord Cambden, it will be our duty to obey them, and I am persuaded they will be obeyed by this committee: but if, on the contrary, upon receipt of our representations, they should change their sentiments, and approve of the regulations we have already made, no time should be lost on our part in establishing the mode for carrying on the trade in future. The confidence which the directors have been pleased particular-

village, where the salt is sold, according to the distance and former custom

“ 7th That if salt be sold at any of the bazar’s or markets for one cowry above the stipulated price, the vender shall not only forfeit all the salt there found in his possession, but, be liable to a forfeit of one thousand rupees for every hundred maunds of salt so sold ; and the money so forfeited shall go, one half to the informer and one half to the government

“ 8th That the ministers at Murshedabad and Patna have copies sent them of these new regulations, and that they be desired to apply to the Nabob to make the same known throughout the three provinces , and that every Fowzdár, &c. see that they be put in execution, upon pain of being dismissed from their employments

“ 9th This business being entirely commercial, I propose that in the instrument of agreement for next year it shall be provided, that the society of trade be answerable to the board for their conduct , that the board may either make new regulations, or amend those made by the society of trade, as they see fit, and that, in case of necessity, the select committee shall have power to controul the whole

“ 10th That a duty of 50 per cent be paid to the company upon all the salt provided on their own lands, and 50 per cent to the government upon all the salt provided upon the lands of the government, and 15 per cent upon beetle which duties will in fact be brought to the company’s credit, which, according to the present state of the

salt trade will produce the company from 12 to 13 lacks of rupees per annum.

"The prohibition of a free inland trade, however disagreeable to individuals, must now take place, and be confined to imports and exports, and their immediate returns, which returns shall be made only to the presidency, or to one or other of the established factories. The company are sovereigns in India; and they have declared, that the trade carried on for these four years past is an usurpation, not only of their prerogative, but of the privileges of the natives, and repugnant to the express and repeated orders of the court of directors. The indulgence however in the trade of salt upon the footing I hope it will be now established, should in my opinion, obviate all complaints, since it seems to be the most equitable modus between the company and their servants, and at the same time a distribution of natural right to the people of the country. Considering that the late great advantages of unlimited trade are cut off, I cannot imagine the court of directors will deny their servants this share of benefit, as a recompense for their care and assistance in the management of the important concerns of these provinces. On the other hand, I would have the servants look upon these emoluments as a gift from the hands of their employers, offered to them annually in reward of their fidelity; and which will certainly be withheld from them, if ever their authority should be resisted, and discontent and rapacity take place of gratitude and moderation."

His lordship's minute being read and maturely considered, the regulations therein specified are unanimously approved."

The capital stock for the second year was divided into sixty shares, and amounted to current rupees 2,400,000, or, at 26 pence per rupee, 260,000 pounds sterling. And the profits which have actually accrued upon this second year's capital, and been received by the proprietors upon their respective shares, down to the month of December 1770, exclusive of balances still out-standing, are as follow, viz.

| | Shares | £. | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-------------------|----------|----------|
| On the Rt. hon. Id. Clive's | 5 | 16,656 | 5 | 0 |
| W. Brightwell Sumner, esq; | | | | |
| his | 3 | 9,993 | 15 | 0 |
| Brigadier gen. Carnac's | 3 | 9,993 | 15 | 0 |
| The rest of the servants | 49 | 163,231 | 5 | 0 |
| | <u>60</u> | <u>£. 199,875</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |

The reader will doubtless have observed in the former part of this account, that an authority for establishing this monopoly was pretended to have been received from the Nabob, and that his interest, or that of the country government, was to be properly attended to, particularly as expressed in the proceedings of the 10th August 1765, by considering him either as a proprietor, or by an annual present, to be computed upon inspecting a statement of his duties on salt in former years. Notwithstanding which, in the 8th and 10th articles agreed to in the select committee of the 3d September 1766, we find the Nabob's officers throughout the three provinces, were to be dis-

missed from their employments, in case they did not carry into execution the regulations resolved on by the committee and we are told, that the duties established upon this trade in the Nabob's name would, in fact, be brought to the credit of the company, as being the sovereigns in India. Contradictions of this nature will be frequently observed in the course of these sheets, as well in the proceedings of the directors, as in those of their servants abroad, since the farce of their double government commenced, for it is a difficult thing consistently to support a falsity, or fiction, through a variety of circumstances at different and distant periods of time.

Many and various were the oppressions exercised in the conducting of both the public and private monopolies, of which we are now treating to enumerate them would be a disagreeable and tedious, if not an endless task; nevertheless in support of the truth of this assertion, we will briefly mention a few circumstances.

In the 6th and 7th articles of the regulations established by the select committee, in their proceedings of the 3d September 1766, it is ordained, that the salt of the second year's monopoly should be sold at certain prices, to be fixed at every town or village, and that if any of the persons who were purchasers of the committee's salt, should sell any at those markets for one cowry above the stipulated price, the vender should not only forfeit all the salt found in his possession there, but be liable to a forfeit of one thousand rupees for every hundred maunds of salt so sold, and the salt money so forfeited

feited should go, one half to the informer, and one half to the government

- In consequence of this regulation, many merchants were fined in a very arbitrary manner, particularly some of the principal black merchants of Calcutta, as Sooberambysack, Moldundutt and others, who had purchased of the committee salt to a very large amount, and were accused of having sold at above the prescribed price. The select committee, in the summary way adopted by themselves, without any judicial form, or process whatever, collected among these merchants to the amount of some thousands of pounds, which were said to have been appropriated in as arbitrary a manner to the erecting of the court house, a public building in Calcutta

Upon the establishment of the private copartnership, or society, of the gentlemen of the committee among themselves, there was an Armenian merchant, named Parleek Arratoon, who had about 20,000 maunds of salt lying in warehouses, upon the borders of the Rungpore and Dinagepore provinces. The Armenian, sensible, as well as the gentlemen of the committee, that the price of salt would rise, ordered his gomastah to fasten up his warehouses, and not to sell. As the retailing of this salt in those parts might hurt the partnership's sales, it was thought expedient at any rate, if possible, to get possession of it. Upon failure of the artifices which were practised to induce the gomastah to sell it, the Armenian merchant's warehouses were broke open, the salt forcibly taken out and weighed off, and a sum of money, estimated to be the price of it, was forced upon the Armenian's

enian's gomastah, on his refusing to receive it, each are the facts sworn to in the depositions of several witnesses, upon an action, or bill of complaint filed in the mayor's court of Calcutta, the 5th September 1767, by Parseek Arratoon, plaintiff, against the gomastahs, or agents of Messrs. Verelst and Sykes, for current rupees 2,432. And if the proceedings of the mayor's court have been transmitted home with the same punctual regularity as formerly, there must be sufficient proof of these facts among the records now in Leaden-hall-street.

Having laid before the reader an account of what have been the actual and realised profits of the two-years trade of this grand monopoly, we will now endeavour to shew, at one view, the amount of what the natives may be justly said to have been fleeced of in that space of time, notwithstanding the pious professions of the select committee, that they should be supplied as reasonably as before.

| | | | | |
|---|--|------------------|----|---|
| The amount of the capital stock employed the first year, is current rupees, 2 432 333 | | | | |
| £ 4 or, at 2s. 6d. per C R, £ sterl | | 162,430 | 0 | 0 |
| to, C R: 2 400,000 at Do 2d year | | 160 000 | 0 | 0 |
| | | <hr/> 522 430 | | |
| Profit, viz | | | | |
| to the Rt Hon Lord Clive's | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 5 shares, the first year | | 21,120 | 4 | 0 |
| to, 2d year | | 16 656 | 5 | 0 |
| | | <hr/> 37 835 9 0 | | |
| to William B rightwell Sum | | | | |
| per, Esq has three shares, | | | | |
| the first year | | 12 707 | 10 | 0 |
| to, 2d year | | 9 993 | 15 | 0 |
| | | <hr/> 22,701 5 0 | | |
| to General Ca nac 3 shares, | | | | |
| the first year | | 12 707 | 10 | 0 |
| to, 2d year | | 9 993 | 15 | 0 |
| | | <hr/> 22 701 5 0 | | |
| Carried forward | | 23 137 | 19 | 0 |
| | | <hr/> 522 430 | | |

Brought over 80,237 19 0 522,429

On the test of the Company's

servants 45 1 3d shares, the

first year — — 257,024 25 0

Ditto, 49 shares, 2d year — 263 232 5 0

255 256 1 0

438 494

Total of the first cost and profit for two years — —

560 914

Extraordinary duties to be paid in two years to the Nabob, the country government, or the English company, whichever the reader pleases to call it, 26 lacks, at 2s 2d per current rupee — —

231,666

Extraordinary charges beyond the common course of the trade, to which the committee was exposed from the employment of European agents and other causes, estimated at least at 6 lacks, or — —

65,000

Outstanding debts on the two years trade, which have been or will be recovered by the influence of the country government estimated, to the time of the above calculation of profits, at 10 lacks, or — —

108 334

Total received from the natives — —

1,415 923

Deduct,

First cost of those commodities for two years £ 822 430

Allowance for what the profits would have been in the usual and fair way of trade, as practised when the monopoly took place at 20 per cent — —

236 726

Duties which might have been collected in the usual manner on this trade, in the state it then was for two years * we will make a large allowance in the sum of — —

60,000

To this must be added what was separately gained by the under monopolizers who, agreeably to the regulations, purchased salt, &c. in the gross from the committee, being sold by bayans of the gentlemen themselves, and who transported it to and retailed it in the inland country. The net profits under this head may be justly estimated, upon salt and beetle nut, at least at 12 lacks, or — —

120,000

259 146

Arising on the public monopoly — —

556 767

To which must be added the concerns of the separate private society, among the gentlemen of the select committee, already mentioned, as far only as has come to public knowledge, viz

Carried forward 859 146 00 0 556 767

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| One concern, as taken notice of by the Right Honourable Lord Clive And of one other, ——— | Brought over \$59,146 0 0 of 497,001 Maunds, 40,000 | 556,757 |
| Maunds, 537,000. Upon which we may safely allow the gentlemen to have gained, at the lowest estimation, a clear profit of two current rupees per maund, making 1,074,002 rupees, at 2s. 3d. ——— | | 116,250 |
| | | <u>L. 673 117</u> |

By this estimate; which we hope will be allowed very just by all persons acquainted with the branch of which we treat; it appears, that upon the trade of two years there has been to the amount of six hundred and seventy-three thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds sterling collected for the benefit of about sixty persons; from the natives in general, upon this single monopoly of what are considered there to be all necessities of life, (and the most material one is actually such in all countries) more than they would have paid for the same, had the trade continued open and free to all who paid the established duties.

In a country where the nature of commerce is so well understood, it must be needless to swell this account, already too long, with such inferences, drawn from the facts here laid before the public, as must appear obvious to every one at the first view. Every merchant will agree with us in one general conclusion, that such a monopoly must have been in the highest degree injurious to the population and manufactures of the country; and we will venture to assert, that, above all others, it has principally contributed to that decrease of trade, and the distress under which Bengal has laboured

boured ever since the establishment of this monopoly.

We had almost forgot, before we dismissed this head of our subject; to put the reader in possession of a key for the understanding of such parts of the proceedings of the committees herein taken notice of, as were calculated to evade the carrying into execution of the orders of the East India directors respecting this trade.

Soon after the establishment of the monopoly, the right honourable lord Clive and the gentlemen of the committees and council (apprehensive that they should not receive the approbation of the directors of the company for this establishment) entered into an indenture, or bond of indemnity to each other, by which they engaged, under a considerable penalty, That "provided any order or direction should issue or be made by the said court of directors in England, thereby ordering and directing the said exclusive joint trade and merchandize to be dissolved or put to an end, or that might hinder and stop the carrying on the same, or contain any thing contrary to their regulations; they, the said right honourable lord Clive, &c. members of the committees and council, should and would, notwithstanding any such order or direction, keep up; continue and enforce; or cause to be kept up, continued and enforced; the said exclusive joint trade and merchandize."

After considering the forces of the Dewanne's and the last treaties with the Nabob's of Bengal, the professions of the most implicit obedience to the orders of the court of East India directors, and attention to the interests of the Nabob and the

welfare of the native inhabitants, as made use of in the proceedings of the secret committees herein-mentioned, and comparing those professions with the facts we have taken notice of, and particularly with the farce exhibited on the 1st October 1766, in the mayor's court of Calcutta. It must appear to a sensible mind, that the whole system of the government of Bengal at this period was in reality no other than one continued scene of imposition upon the public, under sounding phrases and pompous appearances ; perhaps more ridiculous than any thing that has been held up under the veil of politics, and even exceeding any thing exhibited on the theatre of false religion.

It is evident by the new regulations of his lordship's and his secret committee, that they were calculated for the private emolument of these arbitrary rulers of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa ; regardless of the instructions of their masters in England, instead of correcting the abuses they were sent to reform, they multiplied them, and intailed an eternal disgrace on the British name in Indostan. The ignominious subjection in which they kept the princes of the country, the impolitical treaties they made to aggrandize the power of others, who may some day prove formidable enemies to the company, and make them repent of their alarming encroachments ; the unjust and cruel proscriptions of their own country men, the public injuries offered to the natives, their monopolies and malversations will make the abettors of these odious measures with all their ill gotten wealth and the senatorial dignity they have contrived to obtain, the objects of scorn and contempt to the impartial public

public. One cannot refrain from indignation in seeing the very tools of these lawless oppressions, and the vile instruments of their extortions, solicit at this very time and likely to obtain presidencies and governments of the highest trust and importance, in that very peninsula, which they have made before a scene of plunder and desolation, and where they wish to return by the same motive of rapaciousness and avarice.

Lord Clive lived in Bengal, with all the pomp and splendor of an eastern potentate. He displayed where ever he went the ostentatious pageantry of an Asiatic sovereign; his title and decorations in striking the natives with awe, who saw him exert without controul a dictatorial authority over the company's settlements. Amongst his weighty and momentary regulations, he indulged himself now and then with the relaxation of transient amours. He thought his rank, his fortune and his power, were sure to conquer the women, with the same facility that he ruled over the company's servants; effectively he found several ladies of easy virtue, who, like other commodities, came readily into the scheme of his monopolies, and composed the little seraglio of this fortunate Omrah. Not satisfied with the enjoyment of charms so easily purchased, he aimed at conquests more difficult, which he consequently thought more glorious. A most amiable woman, of a respectable character, now in England, attracted his attention, and stimulated his desires. He knew the approaches were to be made with precaution and secrecy, on account of the lady's spotless fame and her friends credit and honourable way of living. One of the young ser-
want

vants of the company, his lordship's faithful agent in love affairs, was charged with this amorous negotiation. The lady, who is sensible and witty, on the first intimation of his lordship's respectful admiration for her endearing accomplishments, turned into ridicule the addresses of the noble lord, and the suggestions of his pleripo.

The sprightliness and good humour of the lady, who imagined the best way to discourage such an improper address, was railery, often more mortifying to a tutor, than anger and indignation gave still to her noble admirer some distant hopes of triumphing scruples and delicacies which his vanity did not permit him to construe into an absolute denial.

One morning she found upon her toilet, the following letter, in the oriental style, supposed to have been placed there by some of her servants, gained by the skillful agent. It was an allegory to the noble lover's exploits and exaggerated passions expressed in the following terms.

“ Zadi, nobly despising the blandishments of fortune, in the commercial profession, in which he had been designed, with an active genius and natural talents for war, entered spontaneously the illustrious career of heroes and of these benefactors of mankind who having subdued sovereigns and nations, give peace and happiness to the vanquished. The fruit of his first achievements in the field, was the conquest of a fertile province, he next wrested from the hands of a warlike and powerful enemy, an important fortress, which secured his new acquisitions, the strong bulwark of a petty tyrant, whose

whose hostile fleets annoyed the commerce of Europe and Asia, yielded to the victorious troops lead by Zadi, who soon revenged the barbarous death of his countrymen, by retaking the place, which had been the horrid scene of a savage prince's merciless perfidy; having routed the formidable army of this cruel despot and dethroned him, he bestowed kingdoms, which he had no ambition to gain for himself; this become arbiter of the east, and the fame of Zadi's victory having reached from the Ganges to the western boundaries of Europe, he returned to his native land, where after he had the satisfaction of seeing his services publicly acknowledged by those, whom he had made the sovereigns of a rich peninsula, and rewarded by a beneficent monarch, he generously forsook all the advantages of a splendid fortune, acquired by his valour and conduct, to restore unfortunate princes to their hereditary dominions, and to establish a lasting and glorious peace in these eastern regions, where he had so often gathered laurels. But after all these memorable deeds, and the great honour bestowed upon Zady who atchieved them; love that passion of noble souls, has superseded all the aspiring thoughts of ambition. Zadi has seen Mirza, and since he beheld her angelic face, has not enjoyed a moment of repose and happiness. Though perhaps his fortune and reputation might have influenced in Europe and Asia, several charming women to bestow on him, the most endearing marks of their affection, he has not a single thought or sigh left for them; the dear, lovely Mirza fills the whole capacity of his mind, his heart and his soul. She is the universe for him, and

and could Zadi flatter himself to find this irresistible charmer propitious to his vows, he would think himself the most happy of the creation to lay at her feet, and her disposal, all the wealth and grandeur he is possessed of. He shall not rest till he knows the ultimate resolution of the fairest under the sun. And as a state of suspense and uncertainty in love is perplexing beyond description, Zadi entreats the admirable Mirza to favour his impatience with an answer. May gracious heaven inspire her to restore to his distracted soul its former tranquility: Leave the answer, where you find this indirect declaration; it will come safe into Zadi's hands."

The lady having perused with great attention, this panegyric of Zadi, and that incoherent stuff of vanity and love, did hesitate a long while, before she took the resolution to answer it. She easily guessed the author, and though she did not think proper to make any enquiry to know how Zadi's affecting tale, had been introduced into her bed-chamber, she naturally thought the agent had contrived to bribe some of her female attendants. In order to be rid of Zadi's importunities, and that he should not attribute her silence to a favourable disposition towards him, which modesty did not allow her to manifest. She made the following spirited answer:

"Mirza born of honest, and industrious and creditable parents, and brought up under their eyes in the invariable measures of virtue; would not have taken the trouble of answering Zadi's oriental hyperbole, however exalted his station may be, had she been certain, he would have interpreted her silence, as the contempt she holds in his assurance
and

and his presumption. She has no aspiring views, especially of the dishonourable kind, beyond the mercantile profession of her father, and scorns the allurements of fortune acquired by plunder and devastation, when affixed to seduce innocence, and sully an untainted reputation. If Zadi's active genius and talents for war, can no longer shine in the field, let him encourage the arts of peace, and restore in a pacific administration peace and plenty to distressed millions. True heroes indeed, should be the friends, not the destructors of the human race: if Zadi will appear in that light to the present generation and to posterity, he must I believe write himself the history of his boasted exploits. Dastardly sovereigns have been subdued and dethroned by fraud and injustice, and their miserable subjects oppressed by merciless ravagers, give them now the monopolized products of their own country. Mirza shall not attempt to follow Zadi through dreadful scenes of carnage and desolation, of tyrants deposed and others substituted in their place. If his fame in Europe and Asia is justly acquired, and his warlike exploits have been exerted in support of the rights of mankind, not suggested by ambition and avarice, time will shew. As for titles and honours, they are so often bestowed on the unworthy, that they cannot be pronounced the rewards of true merit and honour. May Zadi convince the Indians by his disinterestedness and humanity, that he came to protect, not to oppress them. If they enjoy a temporary peace, they experience all the horrors of famine and lawless extortion. Let Zadi rest himself under the shade of his laurels, and not aim at the disgrace and infamy

of respectable families. True and sentimental love is indeed the passion of noble souls, not that brutal instinct which would seem free to unlawful dying innocence and virtue. Mirza wishes Zadi may enjoy his usual repose, and injure no more a person; whose conduct deserves his respect. She leaves to the daughters of prostitution to be dazzled by Zadi's fortune and splendor, and heartily despises Zadi and his offers."

This answer put an end to the noble lord's correspondence, which he never after attempted to renew. This allegorical declaration of love; and the lady's answer, have been given to me by one of her intimate friends, and with her knowledge. This happened in the beginning of the year 1766; if the reader has any doubt about the authority of both, the lady who now lives in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, would if necessary, commission her friend to assert, that this is an exact copy of the original letters.

The pleasures of lord Clive were agreeably varied, by the enchanting prospect of returning home with a princely fortune; the cries of the oppressed, who had experienced all the calamities of war and famine, with the accumulated distress of being unable to purchase the monopolised articles become necessary in that climate, would have softened hearts that were not truly callous to all the tender emotions of compassion and humanity. It may be truly said, that Calcutta was the seat of the empire of Indostan, where the arbitrary and uncontrouled servants of a commercial company ruled with an iron rod over the nominal sovereigns of their

their creation, and their forsaken and distracted subjects. I admire his lordship's declaration relative to the mistrust he professed of the faithless mussulmen, who will always look upon the aggrandisement of the company with a jealous eye. What opinion must have these princes whom we stamp with the appellation and character of infidels, to see themselves kept in the most humiliating subjection, by a set of rapacious adventurers, the outcast of a nation, who by dint of entreaties and submission, had obtained from their predecessors, some insignificant factories in their dominions. Could they have foreseen the consequences of these impolitical concessions, to a society who has derived their opulence and grandeur from the iniquitous system of avarice and monopoly, they would not lament their folly and credulity. It is not their pretended perfidy, but their kindness and their hospitality, that have emboldened these freebooters to make a desert of the rich peninsula of Indus, to trample under foot all the divine and human laws and to violate with impunity the most sacred rights of mankind, in exhibiting the most shocking scene of European injustice and barbarity. It is high time indeed that government should shew to the Asiatics, that however contemptible and odious the English name has been rendered by some individuals, it becomes the national honour to convince them of our moderation and equity. We cannot suppose the infatuation of the princes of Indostan will continue for ever : they have experienced the fatal effects of their dissensions ; they have perceived that the English, notwithstanding the manifest advantages of their skill in arms and their

discipline, could never have conquered a populous empire, and given law to that part of the East, without the assistance of the natives; they are become sensible that their subjects might be trained to the European art of war, and that a revolution which should restore them to their former power and independence, may still be effected, provided they act in concert with vigour and resolution. Unless a formidable standing army; maintained at a great expence, keep them in awe, and secure the company's acquisitions, I dare say this event is nearer than we are aware of. The Dutch, our rivals in trade, who have till lately engrossed to themselves, the most valuable commerce of the East, and enjoyed an undisputed sovereignty in the isles of the Indostan sea, would no doubt, serve with eagerness, the first opportunity of assisting indirectly, if not openly, the princes of Indostan, in extirpating their English oppressors. Now that the French and Danes have declared the trade of the East Indies indiscriminately free and open to the subjects of both these monarchies, a number of adventurers enticed by the flattering hopes of making a rapid fortune in these distant regions, will continually emigrate thither, and if the territories of their settlement are not extensive enough to provide for the convenience of these emigrants, or to satisfy their avarice, they will seek for an asylum in the dominions of the neighbouring princes; offer them their services and assistance in modelling their armies, and exert themselves with courage and activity in rescuing their munificent benefactors from the English yoke. It cannot be supposed that the French, who have

lost

Inst their cold and barren empire in America, will not once more turn their ambitious views towards that part of the globe, from which the richest materials of European commerce are drawn. I dare say, their hostile invasion of the peninsula within the Ganges, will be the first stroke of their restless ambition and policy. A numerous army will rendezvous at the isles of Bourbon and Mauritias, before we are aware of their designs and preparations. They will perhaps appear at first in the deceitful characters of auxiliaries to the injured Asiatic princes, and throw off the mask afterwards, as principals in the quarrel, and the aspiring conquerors of their rivals' territories. As for the Danes, their settlement in the kingdom of Tanjore, insignificant as it seems, may become in the hands of a formidable enemy, a place of arms of great importance, to carry on their military operations in the Carnatic. They hate and fear the English, whom they consider as overheating usurpers. Nothing can disconcert the measures of the French and baffle their attempts, than annexing these territorial acquisitions to the English diadem, and keeping their a military force, not of plunderers, but of his Majesty's troops, commanded by officers of honour and experience. This is what the French have been afraid of ever since administration has intimated their designs of uniting to the dominions of the sovereign these Asiatic conquests. As a company, I repeat it, it is impossible in the present state of things, that this empire should remain long subject to it; and it is not likely to thrive, when governed by the same petty tyrants who have ruined and devastated it.

Whilst

Whilst lord Clive was in India, violent disputes happened between the proprietors of India Stock, and the directors, occasioned by the former supposing that an increase of dividend should be made adequate to the great opulence of the company at that time; owing to their great acquisitions in the East Indies. This the directors strenuously opposed, soon after it was rumoured that the government intended to interfere in some manner in the disposition of the company's affairs. At first, this report obtained but little credit, till a few days before the meeting of the general court, a message was actually received by the directors from the ministry, informing them "that as the affairs of the East India company had been mentioned in parliament last session, it was very probable they might be taken into consideration again; therefore, from the regard they had for the wellfare of the company, and that they might have time to prepare their papers for that occasion, they informed them that these affairs should be discussed at the meeting of the parliament."

Accordingly in the beginning of the next session, a committee was appointed to examine into the state and condition of the company, and sometime after it was ordered, that copies of the company's charters, their treaties with and grants from the country powers; together with their letters and correspondence, to and from their servants in India; the state of their revenues in Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and other places, should all be laid before the house, also an account of all expences incurred by government on the company's account, in the naval, military and every other department. An

order was then given for printing the East India papers; upon which the court of directors preferred a petition, shewing the great injury it would be to the company, and the many ill consequences that would probably attend the publishing the private correspondence between them and their servants. In consequence of this petition, a motion being made to discharge the order a debate ensued; but it was at last agreed that the private correspondence should not be printed.

Among the several questions which arose during the course of this enquiry, was the right of the company to their territorial acquisitions? it was argued that they had no right by their charter to any conquest: that such possessions in the hands of a trading corporation were improper and dangerous; and that if it were even legally and politically right that they should hold those territories, yet the vast expenditure of government, in the protection of that company, gave it a fair and equitable title, to the revenues arising from the conquests. But those who maintained the rights of the company, denied that the crown had made any reservation of such acquisitions as had been made by it; that it was a dangerous infringement on property and public faith to question them, as the company had purchased its charters from the public, and that they were confirmed by act of parliament. That if the crown had any right to the possessions of that body in India, the courts were open for the trial of that claim: that the house of commons was not by the constitution, the interpreter of the laws or the decider of legal rights: that it would be of the most fatal consequences to the

the liberties of Great Britain if ever they should assume it that as to the equitable right pretended from the expences of government, the company stood as fair in that light of the crown, they having expended much greater sums in acquiring the disputed territories and revenues

Afterwards a petition was presented by the company to parliament, containing two sets of proposals for a temporary agreement, which was to last for three years By the first the government was to grant the company some advantages with respect to the inland duties, on their teas, and a drawback on the exportation of them to Ireland and the colonies, and some others respecting raw silk, calicoes, muslios, the recruiting service and the military stores. That in return after deducting four hundred thousand pounds, in lieu of the company's former commercial profits, the neat produce of all the remaining revenues and trade, after deducting all charges, were to be equally divided between the government and the company, provided that the company's property, in the new acquisitions continued for three years By the second proposals, the company offered, upon the same terms, to pay the specific sum of four hundred thousand pounds per annum, for three years by half yearly payments, and to indemnify the public for any loss the revenue might be at by granting the advantages which they required in the sea trade, of the advanced consumption of it, taken at an average of five years, did not answer the end

These last proposals were accepted by the house, with the difference only, that the agreement was limited to two instead of three years, and a bill was
after-

afterwards passed on these terms. The dividend of the company was also regulated by another bill which ordered that no dividend should be made, but in pursuance of a vote carried by ballot, in a general court summoned for the purpose seven days before, nor any increase of dividend beyond ten per cent.

We cannot at this present juncture pass unnoticed the great abilities and eminent services of a noble lord, recently appointed to the government and presidency of Fort St. George ; he deserves in every respect an honourable mention, amongst the few governors and commanders, whose unspotted name have nothing to fear from the blast of defamation. He was born a gentleman, and his family connections were superior to most of the young men, who went out as writers in the East India company service. Mr Pigot with the advantages of a polite education, and an ardent desire to enlarge the sphere of his knowledge, in indulging the turn he had manifested early for observation, by a voyage that might be conducive to the improvement of his mind and his fortune, went out in the capacity of a writer to Madras in the year 1736, at a time, that the company's servants were satisfied to acquire with honour and industry, ease and independence. His diligence and emulation recommended him soon to the favour and attention of his superiors, he had shewn himself when high in council, and chief of Vizagapatam, where a considerable part of the company investment is provided, worthy of a higher trust and command. And after eighteen years faithful services, with an unblemished character and abilities adequate to the chief presidency

presidency in Indostan, he was according to the usual gradation, appointed to succeed Mr. Saunders in the government of Fort St. George.

As he had superseded none of his colleagues qualified for that important office, his promotion met with universal approbation. Indeed it required a man of penetration and judgment, to fill that high post, when the coast of Coromandel, was by the arts and intrigues of Mr. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, made a scene of bloodshed and desolation, and the French making the most powerful efforts to give law to that part of Asia, and to subdue Madras the capital of the English settlements within the Ganges : besides the conduct and reputation of Mr. Saunders in pointing out a succession actuated by the same principles of honour and zeal for the company's service, would have disgraced any man of moderate talents who had filled a place lately occupied by a governor so justly revered. When Mr. Pigot saw general Lally elated by the conquest of Fort St. David, at the gate of Madras with a victorious army, he was not in the least dismayed by the reputation and success of the French general, as he had in concert with the colonels Lawrence and Draper, taken all the measures that human sagacity could suggest for a vigorous defence. As we have already mentioned the operations of this famous siege, it is sufficient to add that it was chiefly owing to governor Pigot's skill and activity, in the great harmony that always subsisted betwixt him and the two brave officers mentioned above, and to his indefatigable vigilance and courage, that Lally was forced

ced in fury and despair to abandon the place. In his civil administration Mr. Pigot loved, feared and respected ; displayed all the talents and public virtues, that make a man fit to command. Far from encouraging monopolies and extensions in his presidency, he always shewed himself the protector of the oppressed, the friend of the injured, and the avenger of injustice and lawless imposition. He had no share in the spoils of the Nabob's deposed and murdered; nor in the presents lavishly bestowed on the company's servants, by those made to serve selfish and iniquitous designs. Mr. Pigot continued nine years in that exalted station, in which he rendered the company the most essential services, and preserved an un sullied fame. When the company were dispossessed of their establishments in Bengal by the Nabob, he generously determined to make a desperate effort, at the very hazard of the settlement to which he presided, to re-conquer part of a fruitful province threatened with an intire reduction by an inveterate enemy.

Mr. Pigot on his return to England in 1764. After a residence of near eight and twenty years on the coast of Coromandel, received the thanks of the court of directors for his eminent services to the company. He declared on this occasion, that the company might at all future times command his services at home and abroad.

He had the additional satisfaction to see his conduct approved of by his sovereign, who conferred on him honours deserved and unsolicited, by raising him to the title and dignity of Baron Pigot of Patshall in the kingdom of Ireland, in the year 1766. In his senatorial capacity, he has on all the

grand constitutional points maintained the character of a man animated by public virtue, unawed by power, unbiassed by party and incorruptible.

When Mr. Rumbold was appointed by the directors governor of Madras, lord Pigot wrote to the proprietors, that " Reflecting upon the situation for some time past of the East India company's affairs, and hearing such numberless complaints of misconduct abroad, I thought it my duty to make an offer of my further services to the company, and I have communicated these sentiments to three different chairmen of the court of directors; I have indeed never pressed myself upon them, but the conduct of the present court of directors is so pointed, that I cannot help appealing to a court of proprietors. In the beginning of the last year, I desired the present chairman to pay my respects to the court of directors, and to acquaint them, that if I could render the company any services upon the Coromandel coast, where I had so long resided, they might command these services; but the court of directors, without returning me any answer to an offer which at least ought to have been treated with civility, have appointed another person to the government of Fort St. George."

The court of directors rejected afterwards the proposition of first putting lord Pigot in nomination by the chicane of moving a previous question. After they had determined that the appointment of Mr. Rumbold out of the regular succession was necessary, his lordship laid that offer before the proprietors which had been so contemptuously rejected by the majority of the court of directors, who carried the nomination of Mr. Rumbold to that

that station. As there is not one man on the coast of Coromandel, who is so old a servant to the company, and indeed every man on that establishment entered into the company's service after lord Pigot was high in council at Madrafs, the majority of the independent proprietors, sensible that lord Pigot's great knowledge and experience qualify him for that trust, have given him the preference above his competitor. As the presidency of Madrafs could not be better filled in times of danger and difficulty, lord Pigot's electors have a right to expect from his lordship's rank, principles and tried abilities, whatever can give weight, reputation and permanency to this important settlement in times of safety.

Our readers acquainted with the voluptuousness and effeminaey of the Asiatic princes, the first causes of their subjection and disasters, are perhaps inclined to judge unfavourably of their mental faculties; yet we are able to give a specimen of their natural genius and penetration, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of the Asiatic education calculated to contract their ideas and to relax the vigour of the mind. It is exemplified by a manuscript translated from the Persian, the original of which is attributed to Shah Allam, the present king of Dehly, and imparted to the editor by an officer of reputation and veracity, in whose hands it accidentally fell. This prince son of Allum Gheer of the line of Tamerlane, brought up at the school of adversity, this characterises the individuals and nations, to whom he had been obliged to apply for protection and safety. He began to lament his fate in the following terms.

“ Oh wretched progeny of the invincible Tamerlane, whose royal birth is reputed a crime, doomed to pine in anguish and captivity, within the gloomy walls of a dismal prison. Cursed policy of the Eastern despotes, who think their safety depend on the thralldom of their children. Death is the sure punishment of tyrannical suspicion, and the least surprisè of an attempt to breathe freely that salubrious air which the creator of the universe has designed for the vilest of his creatures, direct the fatal dagger into the breast of princes born for empire. But still death is preferable to perpetual slavery, and to free myself from ignominious shackles, I will venture the illusory thoughts of future grandeur and happiness.” After he had effected his escape, he made this prayer. “ O propitious eternal Being, the ruler of all the potentates of the earth, do thou direct my course amidst numberless dangers and difficulties, make me discern my friends from my foes, before I trust myself to faithless deceitful men. Inspire me with wisdom and judgment, that I may not fall again a sacrifice to ambition and villainy.” After Sujah al Dowlah, Nabob of Oude had denied him an asylum into his dominions, and dismissed him with a small present, he says, “ It is thus that royalty in distress fares no better than the lowest of mankind beggars, thou proud and insolent vassal, whose ancestors were obscure slaves, and who derive thy very existence from the gracious smile of the illustrious descendants of Tamerlane, I despise thy gift which cruel necessity forces me to accept.”

Having taken refuge with the Nabob of Illahabad, he thus artfully engages him to take arms in

support of his desperate cause. " Was I in possession of the throne of my progenitors, I might perhaps attribute your success to interest, not generosity. When there are no obstacles to conquer, there is no glory to acquire, shew yourself worthy to reign, draw the sword in favour of a prince whose origin you pretend to revere ; and let your magnanimity be a lasting monument of my restoration to my birth right."

After he had miscarried in his expedition into the province of Bengal, he exclaimed " O cruel fortune thou mayst disconcert my projects and my designs, but it is not in thy power to subdue my spirit." After colonel Clive had politely declined taking the fugitive prince under his protection, and made him a handsome present, he expresses himself in the following terms, on the general character of the Europeans.

" Tho' we call the christians unfaithful and treacherous, there is amongst them a national honour, which is the very soul of their warlike achievements. Had we the same advantages over them, they would have more reason to complain of our cruel policy and arrogance in prosperity. These men have the same vices, and the same passions, but their ambition, their avarice, and even their brutal appetites, have the varnish of the love of glory and of their country, the pretence of the rewards due to merit and services, and a delicacy, of which we are not capable. Had we conquered part of Europe by arms and negotiations, the christians would not find us the generous enemies they like to appear. When I consider that a handful of Englishmen now give the law to this terrestrial paradise

radhe, I heartily forgive them the contempt in which they held our indolence and pageantry. Their education, their prejudices, their laws are calculated for empire. The man who now sway over these rich provinces, owes his grandeur, his fortune; his humours to our dissensions and pusillanimity. Nothing can save the great empire of Indostan from a foreign yoke, than the wars and animosities of the Europeans. No princes in this peninsula dare face them in the field, and it is from these natural foes that I must apply for protection. If their own interest leads them to assist me, they will no doubt, place me on the Nismud of the great Tamerlane, but then I shall be a slave arrayed in royalty, they will direct my councils, chuse my ministers, and command in my court with more sway than the emperors of Dehly in the plenitude of their power."

His favourable opinion of the English, engaged him to surrender at discretion to the British commander major Carnae; but finding he received from them no real assistance, he tryed once more to move the nabob of Oude's generosity, but he made him repent of his application, as instead of an hospitable reception, the nabob kept him close prisoner, and forced him during his captivity, to confer on his oppressor the title of vizier. He says on this act of perfidy; "Oh treacherous inhospitable tyrant, thou make even my calamities subservient to thy cursed pride and ambition; were not the English thy masters, thou should have aimed at universal empire and trample under foot all divine and human laws. Thou may deprive me of my personal liberty, but I defy thee to rob

me of my fortitude Oh that I had remained in the prison of Dehly, better to be a captive in my capital than in the hands of an unmerciful dastardly slave "

After the battle of Banan, where Sujah al Dowlah had led him in captivity, he threw himself again on the English for protection, who thinking their own interest consistent with his elevation to the throne of Dehly, made him as he had foreseen a nominal emperor . In the first public speech, he made to his Omrahs, there was this remarkable passage

" If I am not just, compassionate, beneficent, may the same fatal destiny, which has made me sensible that I am a poor mortal man, subject to all the misfortunes of my fellow creatures , lead me again to an obscure prison, never to see the light again

Lord Clive regardless of the approbation or censure of the directors, was carrying on his civil and military regulation, maugre the distress of the people and the murmurs of the army, as he proposed to remain a short time in India, he made the best of it . It must be said in justification of the little notice he took of the orders of the direction, that they were often absurd, contradictory, and evinced the ignorance of their own affairs even in commercial matters, an unpardonable fault in the managers of a trading company . We may naturally suppose that the servants of the company as well as their dependents, excepted those who were benefited by his lordship's measures, and were in the secret, were dissatisfied, and no friends to his
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administration As for the army those who had resigned or had been dismissed by the reduction, saw all their hopes blasted, without expectation of seeing their grievances redressed, against the influence of wealth and power He had formerly paid a proper respect to his senior officers, as he gave a commendable instance of that regard for his master in the military art, general Lawrence, upon whom he refused to assume the command, but now officers were displaced or promoted according as they courted the favour of his lordship, or were in the good graces of his secret committee He reduced no doubt the expences of the army, but the method he took was unjust and impolitical, as this saving to the company was not a compensation of several other charges he entailed on them, by the new modelling the civil government, with disgrace and instability The views of his lordship were now towards Europe, where if he could not act the sovereign as in the East, he was sure to eclipse the first nobility of his native land by all the advantages of fortune His instruction to his agents in England were to purchase all the estates in Shropshire, that they could annex to his former acquisitions, and to secure against his return several boroughs for his friends and dependents Indeed he was a man of business to all intents and purposes, of great application and activity The climate of Bengal agreed extremely well with his lordship's constitution, and the temperance he observed in his diet was conducive to the health he enjoyed, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of it he was commonly an early riser, and devoted part of the morning to business after breakfast he used to take
some

some exercise in his palankeen, or in a carriage, a few select friends of his select committee, or some other senior servants of the company dined with him. His table was served with delicacy and profusion, and all the most exquisite wines of Europe were at the discretion of his guests. If he was in good humour, he would encourage a free circulation of the bottle, and by intervals stimulate mirth and jollity; but he soon relapsed in his natural pensive mood, and was after silent for a considerable time. His conversation was not lively, but rational and solid. As he seldom drank freely enough, to be seen without disguise, he was impenetrable, excepted to a few confidants to whom he entrusted the execution of his schemes and designs. It was not often that his guests were allowed a great latitude of freedom, as he was always stately and commonly reserved. After dinner he took sometimes a little repose, as it is customary on this torrid region. Towards the evening, he resorted to some gardens with a few companions, and after supper either played at cards, of which he was fond in a select company, or retired with some favourite woman. It cannot be said that he enjoyed life, he only varied these fashionable amusements which gave him no real pleasure or satisfaction. Since he had been obliged by his rank in life to converse with ministers and statesmen, he had applied himself to politics, and in reading books that might give him some useful knowledge of the English constitution. He was not an orator, but he spoke with propriety and judgment. His style, as may be seen in his letters, was neither elevated nor contemptible. He was perfectly well acquainted

with the genius of the Asiatics, and no body know better how to take advantage of their apprehensions and pusillanimity.

Copy of a deed of assignment or sale, whereby the right honourable Robert lord Clive sells to sundry gentlemen of the council at Calcutta, his five shares in the public monopoly of salt, &c. and also his share in a private society in partnership with William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, Esquires, for thirty two thousand pounds sterling.

Know all men by these presents. That whereas I Robert lord Clive, baron Clive of Plassey, in the kingdom of Ireland, knight, companion of the most honourable order of the Bath, and president and governor of Fort William in Bengal, in the East-Indies, am truly and justly interested in, and entitled to five shares, or proportions, in the joint stock in the trade of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, produced or to be produced within the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in the East-Indies aforesaid, and to all such profits, proceeds, and advantages, as shall arise or accrue from the same; and also justly entitled to one quarter part or share of an adventure of salt in company with William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes of Calcutta, aforesaid, Esquires, amounting as per contract purchases, to 497,001 maunds of Calcutta, little more or less, now under the management and direction of the said Harry Verelst; and likewise to one third part, or share, of an adventure of 40,000 maunds of salt, in compaoy
with

with general John Carnac and the said Harry Verelst; and bought of Messrs. James Ashburner and William Majendie to be delivered at

Now these presents witness, that I the said Robert lord Clive, for, and in consideration of the sum of thirty-two thousand pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, to me in hand paid by the several persons, and in the several sums, shares, or proportions here after mentioned; that is to say, by the said Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, and Alexander Campbell of Calcutta aforesaid, Esquires, the sum of 8000l. each; and by Claud Russel and Thomas Kelsall, of the same place, Esquires, the sum of 4000l. each, the receipt of which said several sums I do hereby acknowledge, have assigned, transferred, and made over, and by these presents do assign, transfer, and make over unto the said Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, Alexander Campbell, Claud Russel, and Thomas Kelsall, their executors, administrators and assigns, all and every the profits, proceeds, or advantages arising, or which shall or may arise or accrue on my aforesaid five shares or parts of the said joint stock in trade of salt, beetle nut and tobacco, produced or to be produced in the provinces aforesaid, for the term of two years, commencing from the day of last past. And also all the profits, proceeds and advantages arising, or which shall or may arise or accrue on that said one quarter-part or share in the said adventure of 497,001. Calcutta maunds of salt, in company with the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, and Francis Sykes; and likewise all the profits, proceeds, and advantages arising, or to arise o my
said

said one-third-part or share in the said adventure of
 40,000 maunds of salt, in company with the said
 John Carnac and Harry Verelst as aforesaid, and
 all and every part thereof ; and also all the bene-
 fits, proceeds, and advantages arising therefrom,
 and which now are, or at any time or times hereaf-
 ter shall become due or payable for the same, and
 all my estate, right, title, interest, claim and de-
 mand whatsoever, of, in, or to the same, or any
 part thereof, to have and to hold the said profits,
 proceeds, and advantages arising, or which shall
 or may arise on my said five shares or proportions
 of the said joint stock in trade of salt, beetle-nut
 and tobacco, produced, or to be produced
 in the said provinces, during the term of two
 years as aforesaid, unto the said Harry Verelst,
 Francis Sykes, Alexander Campbell, Claud Russel,
 and Thomas Kelfall, their executors, administra-
 tors, and assigns, to their own proper use and be-
 hoof for ever. And also to have and to hold all
 and every the profits, proceeds, or advantages,
 arising on my said one quarter-part, or share, in
 the adventure of 497,001 maunds of salt, in com-
 pany with William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Ve-
 relst, and Francis Sykes as aforesaid ; and likewise
 all and every the profits, proceeds and advantages
 arising on my said one-third part, or share, in the
 adventure of 40,000 maunds of salt, in company
 with the said John Carnac and Harry Verelst,
 bought of James Ashburner and William Majen-
 die, as aforesaid ; and all and every part and par-
 cel thereof, unto the said Harry Verelst, Francis
 Sykes, Alexander Campbell, Claud Russell, and
 Thomas Kelfall, their executors, administrators,
 and

and assigns to their own proper use and behoof for ever. And I, the said Robert lord Clive, for my executors and administrators, do hereby covenant, grant, and agree to and with the said Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, Alexander Campbell, Claud Russell, and Thomas Kelsall, their executors, administrators, and assigns, that they the said Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, Alexander Campbell, Claud Russell, and Thomas Kelsall, their executors, administrators and assigns, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, lawfully, peaceably, and quietly have, hold, receive, take, and enjoy, to their own proper use and behoof, all the said profits, proceeds, and advantages arising on my said five shares in the joint stock in trade of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, produced or to be produced in the said provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, for the term of two years as aforesaid. And also all the said profits, proceeds, and advantages arising on my said one quarter-part, or share, in the said adventure of 497,001 maunds of salt, in company with William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, and Francis Sykes, as aforesaid. And likewise the profits, proceeds, and advantages arising on my said one-third part, or share, in the said adventure of 40,000 maunds of salt, in company with general John Carnac and Harry Verelst, Esquires, as aforesaid, and of all and every part or parcel thereof, without any lawful let, suit, trouble, molestation, or interruption of or by me the said Robert lord Clive, my executors, or administrators, or any other person or persons whatsoever, lawfully claiming or to claim, by, from, or under me, them, or any of them, or by any
or

or either of our acts, means, or procurements. And the said Robert lord Clive doth hereby, for himself, his executors and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said Harry Verelst, &c. their executors, administrators, and assigns, that in case any order or direction should be issued by the honourable directors of the East India company in England, by which the said joint trade of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco shall be stopped, or any hindrance or interruption made to the carrying on of the same, then and in that case, the said Robert lord Clive is to allow and pay to the said Harry Verelst, &c. their attornies, executors, administrators, or assigns, such reasonable allowance or profits on the above assigned parts, shares, and proportions, as shall be settled by them the said Robert lord Clive and Harry Verelst, &c. or by arbitrators to be by them appointed for that purpose. And the said Harry Verelst, &c. for themselves, their executors, administrators, and assigns, do hereby covenant, promise, and agree to be answerable and accountable to the said Robert lord Clive, his executors or administrators, for all such advances, principal sum or sums of money, that he hath made, or shall hereafter make, on account of his said five shares in the said joint stock in trade of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco aforesaid, or of, for, or on account of his said one quarter-part, or share, in the said adventure of 497,001 maunds of salt, in company with William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, and Francis Sykes. or on account of his one third-part, or share, in the adventure of 40,000 maunds of salt, in company with General John Carnac and

Harry

the proprietors entitled to the exclusive joint trade of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, produced and to be produced in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, for the better conducting, managing, and carrying on the said trade, on the other part. Whereas in and by a certain deed or instrument in writing, bearing date the 18th day of September 1765, and made or mentioned to be made between the said proprietors to the said joint trade on the one part, and the above-named William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray on the other part, it is witnessed, amongst other things, that in order for the better carrying on and managing the said joint trade in a beneficial manner, and most for the benefit and advantage of the said proprietors, it was and is agreed by and between the parties in the said deed mentioned, that the said exclusive joint trade and merchandize should, from and after the 18th day of September 1765, be conducted, managed, transacted, and carried on, by them the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester and George Gray, constituting a committee for the management thereof, but with the proper monies, and at the joint risk and hazard, and for the joint account, use and benefit of all the said proprietors, their several and respective executors and administrators, in the several proportions, therein set forth. And it was and is also further agreed, by and between the said parties, that the form and signature under which the said exclusive joint trade and merchandize should be conducted and carried on, should be the sign manual of them
the

the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester and George Gray, and their successors for the time being, constituting a committee as aforesaid, together with the seal of the society of trade, with full power and authority to the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester and George Gray, and their successors, to use the same, from the said 18th day of September 1765; until the said exclusive joint trade and merchandize should cease and be no longer carried on for the use of the said proprietors, as in and by the said deed, reference being thereunto had, will more fully and at large appear. Now this indenture witnesseth, That in consideration of the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, taking upon themselves the sole management and conduction of the said joint trade, on behalf of the said proprietors, and having laid out and expended large sums of money to carry on the same, and in order to enforce the execution of all and every the covenants, clauses, grants, articles and agreements in the before recited deed mentioned and contained, as the same are therein respectively expressed; and also, in consideration of the duties or customs that shall or may arise or accrue by reason of the carrying on the said exclusive joint trade of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, according to the true intent and meaning of the said herein before recited deed, to be paid to them the said Robert lord Clive, William Brightwell Sumner, John Carnac, Charles Stafford Phydell, Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Alcanius William Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leycester, and George

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Gray,

Gray, as President and council of Fort William
aforesaid, for and on account of the said honourable
the united East India Company, by them the
said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst,
Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, and their suc-
cessors, constituting a committee as aforesaid, for
and on account of the proprietors entitled to the
said exclusive joint trade and merchandize in the
proportions hereafter mentioned; that is to say, 35
per cent. on salt, each 100 maunds to be valued
and reckoned at 90 rupees; the sum of 10 per
cent. upon beetle-nut, to be valued and reckoned
at prime cost; and the sum of 25 per cent. on
tobacco, to be valued and reckoned at the prime
cost; and also, that the said joint trade and mer-
chandize may not cease or be dissolved before the
expiration of the term in the said recited deed men-
tioned, or any hindrance or stoppage be put to the
same, the said Robert lord Clive, as president, and
the said William Brightwell Sumner, John Carnae,
Charles Stafford Playdell, Harry Verelst, Francis
Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriott, Hugh
Watts, Ascanus William Senior, Samuel Mid-
dleton, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, as
council of Fort William aforesaid, for or on behalf
of the said court of directors of the honourable the
united East India company aforesaid, do hereby,
for themselves and their successors, their executors
and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree,
to and with the said William Brightwell Sumner,
Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray,
and their successors, their heirs, executors and ad-
ministrators, that provided any order or direction
should issue or be made by the said court of di-
rectors

rectors in England, thereby ordering and directing the said exclusive joint trade and merchandize to be dissolved or put to an end, or that may hinder and stop the carrying on the same or any part thereof, or contain any thing contrary to the covenants, clauses, grants, articles, or agreements in the said before recited deed mentioned and contained, or any of them; so that the same may thereby become void and of none effect, then, and in that case, they the said Robert lord Clive, as president, William Brightwell Sumner, John Carnac, Charles Stafford Playdell, Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriot, Hugh Watts, Afcanius William Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, as council of Fort William, aforesaid, shall and will well and truly save harmless and keep indemnified them the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, and all the proprietors entitled or to be entitled to the said joint trade, and their successors, their executors and administrators; and also shall and will (notwithstanding any order or direction to be issued to the contrary as aforesaid) keep up, continue and enforce, or cause to be kept up, continued and enforced, the said exclusive joint trade and merchandize, for the term of one year, to commence from the 18th day of September 1765, and expire on the 18th day of September 1766, according to the true intent and meaning of the said before-recited deed, and of all the parties thereto, as if the said order and direction had never been made or issued. And further, that the said Robert lord Clive, William Brightwell Sumner, John Carnac, Charles Stafford

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Playdell,

Playdell, Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Ascarnius William Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, and their successors, as president and council aforesaid, shall and will allow unto them the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, and their successors, constituting a committee as aforesaid, full and sufficient time after the expiration of the said term of one year as aforesaid, to sell, vend, and dispose of all such goods and merchandize belonging to the said joint-trade and concern as shall at that time remain on their hands unfold and not disposed of, and also to collect and gather in all such sum or sums of money as shall be any ways due or owing unto them the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester and George Gray, or their successors, on account of the said proprietors and joint trade aforesaid, and to settle and adjust all books and accounts belonging to and concerning the same. And the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester and George Gray, do hereby, for themselves and the rest of the proprietors entitled to the said exclusive joint trade and merchandize of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, as aforesaid, and their successors, covenant, promise, and agree so and with the said Robert lord Clive, William Brightwell Sumner, John Carnac, Charles Stafford Playdell, Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Ascarnius William Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leycester and George Gray, as president and council of Fort William aforesaid, and their successors

for

for the time being, that they the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester and George Gray, constituting a committee as aforesaid, and their successors from time to time, shall and will well and truly pay and discharge the duties and customs of the said articles of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, at and after the rate herein before mentioned and expressed of and concerning the same, to the right honourable the president and council of Fort William aforesaid, and their successors, or to whom they shall from time to time direct and appoint to receive the same. And they the said Robert lord Clive, John Carnac, Charles Stafford Playdell, Francis Sykes, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Ascanius William, Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, do hereby bind and oblige themselves, and their successors, their executors and administrators, jointly unto them the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, on behalf of themselves and the said proprietors, in the penal sum of three hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the true and faithful observing, performing, fulfilling, and keeping all and every the covenants herein contained, and which on their parts and behalfs are or ought to be performed, observed, fulfilled, and kept as aforesaid."

In witness, &c."

* Copy of the proceedings of the mayor's court of Calcutta on the 1st of October, 1766, upon an indenture and affidavit of the right honourable Robert lord Clive, which were carried in solemn pro-

procession, by the council and a numerous train of inhabitants to the said court, to be there executed, sworn to, and recorded.

Mayor's court of Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal.

At a court held on Wednesday the first day of October, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six ;

Present,

James Lister, Esquire; Mayor,

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|------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Messieurs. | [Robert Dobinson, | } Aldermen; |
| | [Thomas Woodward, | |
| | [Cornelius Goodwin, | |
| | [David Killican, | |
| | [Matthew Miller, | |
| | [Thomas French, | |
| | [George Lear and | |
| | [Joseph Jekyll, | |

This being the day appointed for the right honourable Robert lord Clive, who now is governor or president of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, to take an oath, or make an affidavit in the said court, and execute a deed or covenant, in a large penalty, which are expected and intended to be taken or sworn

sworn to, and renewed or executed by all future governors or presidents of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid.

The said right honourable Robert lord Clive appeared in the said court, attended by general John Carnac, Harry Verelst, Hugh Watts, Randolph Marriot, Claud Russell, Thomas Rumbold, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Ffloyer, Esquires, and other covenanted servants of the honourable company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and other principal inhabitants of Calcutta aforesaid; and then and there produced a certain deed, or writing, which is contained in the following words; that is to say:

This indenture, made the first day of October, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord
George

* The procession, consisting of at least one hundred and fifty people, including the gentlemens attendants which accompanied this deed and affidavit to the mayor's court, and the professions of disinterestedness which were on so many occasions made by the governor and secret committee of Bengal, perhaps equal any thing that is to be found in the church of Rome, and is scarce exceeded by any act of Oliver Cromwell's administration, as recorded by the elegant pen, of David Hume, Esquire, in his history of Great Britain, wherein many striking instances are to be found exactly parallel to several transactions of the Bengal government during this period.

The usual proceedings of the supreme court of justice were hereon put a stop to, and the regularity of its records infringed for the ostentatious reception of an affidavit, and the execution of a deed, which if really necessary, might have been as effectually performed by an attorney of the court before one of the judges.

George the third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, between the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, on the one part, and Robert lord Clive, baron Clive of Plassey in the kingdom of Ireland, president and governor of Fort William in the kingdom of Bengal, on the other part, witnesseth, that in consideration of the said Robert lord Clive's being president and governor of Fort William, and in consideration of the several sum and sums of money to be received by him the said Robert lord Clive, in manner following; that is to say, the sum of * one and one-eighth per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, (save and except the revenues of the lands of the said united company at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittigong) to be paid unto him in monthly,

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* Without impeaching his Lordship's disinterestedness on other occasions, we must remark that at this time his engaging not to trade in consideration of a commission of one and one eighth per cent. upon the revenues, together with the other benefits he reserved to himself, was no sacrifice. His lordship had determined to come home to Great Britain soon after, and actually left Bengal for that purpose early in January 1767. And the annual commission agreed for, of one and one-eighth per cent. upon Sixty rupees 21,159,245 (the revenues herein specified, amounts to no less a sum than near 30,000 pounds sterling; the benefits of which his lordship is said to have claimed, or received for several months after his resigning the government, by stipulation with his successor.

quarterly, or yearly payments, during the time he shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William aforesaid ; and also in consideration of his salary, stated allowances and commission upon the mint, coral, and upon freight goods ; the said Robert lord Clive doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, covenant, promise and agree to and with the said united company, and their successors, that he, the said Robert lord Clive, during the time he shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William aforesaid, shall not directly nor indirectly, upon any pretence or pretext whatsoever, carry on, or use, or exercise any trade or commerce in the way of a merchant, or otherwise traffic, adventure, or trade in any commodities whatsoever at, to, in, or from the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocha, or in any part thereof or elsewhere between the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan, either on his own account, or in company with or for, or on account of any other person or persons in any article of merchandize whatsoever, (save and except for the benefit of the English East India company, and except in such goods and merchandizes as shall be remaining on hand and unsold at the time he the said Robert lord Clive commenced president and governor of Fort William, and wherein he now hath any share or interest, which only he shall or may sell, or dispose of, or give commissions or directions for selling the same, and further save and except, and it is the true intent and meaning hereof, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to prevent, preclude, or hinder him, the said Robert lord Clive, from purchasing

chafing diamonds or other precious stones, provided he does not dispose of the same by way of barter, or sale, here or in any other part of the East Indies, or from sending or remitting his estate and fortune to England by bills, or in any other shape whatsoever, nor barter, sell, or exchange any kind of goods, wares, or merchandizes, nor accept from, nor give to any person or persons commissions for managing or transacting business, or affairs of merchandize (except as before is excepted) And the said Robert lord Clive doth hereby further covenant, promise and agree to and with the said united company and their successors, that the said Robert lord Clive shall not, nor will himself, nor shall wittingly or willingly permit or suffer any other person or persons in his name, or to his use, to advance, lend, or place out any sum or sums of money at a greater rate, premium, or interest than 10 per cent per annum, so that the least interest, share, port en, or dividend, or any other profit, advantage, or emolument whatsoever, shall in respect thereof exceeding the said premium, or interest of 10 per cent per annum, as aforesaid, arise, or accrue unto him, the said Robert lord Clive, his heirs, executors, or administrators, or unto any other persons whatsoever, through friendship, favour, or influence exerted by him in their behalf, contrary to the true intent and spirit of the o th hereunto annexed And the said Robert lord Clive doth hereby further covenant and agree, that he shall not, nor will upon any account or pretence whatsoever, directly or indirectly accept, take, or receive, nor knowingly, wittingly, or willingly suffer or permit to be accepted,

ted, taken, or received, by any person or persons for his use or in trust for him, his heirs, executors, and administrators; or for any other person or persons whatever, out of personal friendship to them, or regard to his own interest, directly or indirectly; any jewels, effects, sum, or sums of money, whether by bonds, bills, notes, obligations, or otherwise; or accept of, retain, or keep any fee, gratuity, or reward in jewels, effects, money, obligations, or promises or assurances of money in writing of any nature, or other thing whatsoever which has been heretofore deposited for services promised to be performed, or favours to be received, or which shall hereafter be deposited, lent, received, or paid into his hands or custody, or into the hands or custody of any other person or persons in trust for him, nor knowingly permit or suffer any other person or persons to receive, take, or accept of the same or any part thereof by his authority or influence from any king, prince, vizier, munsubdar, nabob, dewan, fowzdar, zemindar, or from any other person or persons, natural-born subjects of the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocha, of what degree, nomination, or quality soever; or from any servant, agent, or council of any king, prince, vizier, munsubdar, nabob, dewan, fowzdar, or zemindar, exceeding the value or amount specified in the covenants with the said united company. And the said Robert lord Clive doth further covenant and agree, that no other emolument or advantage whatsoever, (excepting as herein excepted) shall in any wise howsoever, directly or indirectly, arise or accrue to him, his heirs, executors, or administrators, or to any other

person whatsoever, through favour or friendship either from his office or for, or by reason or means of the influence or authority he may have, as president and governor ; nor will he, the said Robert lord Clive, receive, or knowingly permit any other person to receive any fee, gratuity, or advantage from the disposal of any place, employment, or office to any European or any other person whatever, in or out of the company's service And in order to a discovery to, and satisfaction for any actings or doings of the said Robert lord Clive, or breach of any covenant, clause, article, or agreement herein contained, contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof ; it is hereby agreed, that it shall and may, be lawful to and for the said united company, and their successors, to exhibit, or file any bill, or bills of complaint of discovery in his majesty's court of chancery, or exchequer at Westminster, or by three or more of the council at Fort William for the time being, on behalf of the said united company, in the honourable the mayor's court for the town of Calcutta at Fort William aforesaid, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, against him, the said Robert lord Clive, his executors and administrators, whereunto the said Robert lord Clive doth hereby agree, that he will not demur, nor plead in bar of the discovery, or relief sought by such bill or bills, that hereby he is, may or shall become liable to any penalty, or forfeiture, by force of any law, or statute, bond, covenant, agreement, or otherwise howsoever ; but shall make, and put in a full and perfect answer, or answers to all the parts thereof, and shall not in
such

such answer, or answers insist upon any penalty, forfeiture, law or statute, bond, covenant or agreement, or alledge any matter whatsoever whereby to prevent, bar, or preclude the said company, or any other person, or persons from the discovery or relief sought, or to be sought by such bill, or bills as aforesaid. And for the true, full, and faithful performance of every article, clause, promise, covenant and agreement herein contained, and the true intent and meaning thereof, on the part and behalf of the said Robert lord Clive, he the said Robert lord Clive doth hereby bind and oblige himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, unto the said united company and their successors, in the penal sum of 150,000l. of lawful money of Great Britain, to be recovered in case the said Robert lord Clive shall act contrary to the true intent and meaning of these presents; one third part of the said sum of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling to be paid and be payable unto such person or persons as shall sue for the same, after information and full proof shall be made thereof in the court of chancery, exchequer, or the mayor's court at Calcutta, or before the court of directors of the said united company and their successors, or before the council at Fort William aforesaid; and the remaining two thirds. part thereof shall be paid to, and for the use of the said united company and their successors. In witness whereof, the president and council of Fort William, in behalf of the said united East India company, have hereunto set their hands, and the seal of the said company on the one part, and the said Robert lord Clive has set his hand and seal on the other

part,

part, this first day of October, in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.

Signed CLIVE. *L. S.*



Signed, sealed, and delivered, in Calcutta the day and year above-written, (where no stamp paper is to be had) in the presence of us,



Alexander Campbell,
Henry Strachey,
William Wynne,

Clive,

John Carnac,
Harry Verelst,
Randolph Marriott,
Hugh Watts,
Claud Russell,

Thomas Rutnbold,
William Aldersey,
Thomas Kelfall,
Charles Ffloyer.

And at the same time he the said Robert lord Clive produced a certain affidavit, or oath in writing, annexed to the before-mentioned deed or writing, which is contained in the following words; that is to say:

In the honourable the mayor's court for the town
of Calcutta in Bengal.

I Robert lord Clive, president and governor of Fort William in the kingdom of Bengal, in the East Indies, do voluntarily of my own free will and accord, most solemnly and sincerely swear, testify and depose, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will not from this time forward, during my continuance as president, or governor of Ford William, directly or indirectly carry on, use, or exercise any trade or commerce in the way of a merchaot, or otherwise traffic, adventure, or trade in any commodities whatsoever, at, to, in, or from the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocha, or in any part thereof, or elsewhere betweeo the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan ; either on my own account, or in company with, or on account of any other person or persons, in any article of merchandize whatsoever, (save and except for the benefit of the English East India company, and except in such goods and merchandizes as shall be remaining on hand, and unsold at the time I commented president and governor of Fort William, and wherein I now have any share or interest, which only I shall or may sell or dispose of, or give commissions or directions for the selling the same ; and further, save and except, and it is the true intent and meaning, hereof, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend, to prevent, preclude, or hinder me from purchasing diamonds, or other precious stones, provided I do not dispose of the same by way of bar-
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ter or sale here, or in any other part of the East Indies, or from sending or remitting my estate and fortune to England by bills or in any other shape, whatsoever); and that I will not directly or indirectly from henceforward during my continuance as president, or governor of Fort William, advance, lend, or place out, nor wittingly or willingly permit or suffer any other person or persons in my name, or to my use, to advance, lend, or place out any sum or sums of money at any rate, premium, or interest, exceeding 10 per cent per annum, so that the least interest, share, portion, dividend, or any other profit, advantage, or emolument whatsoever shall in respect thereof, exceeding the premium, or interest of ten per cent. per annum above-mentioned, arise or accrue unto me, my heirs, executors, or administrators, or unto any other person or persons whatsoever, through friendship, favour, or influence exerted by me in their behalf, contrary to the true intent and spirit of this oath.

And I do most solemnly swear, that I will not upon any account or pretence whatever, directly or indirectly, accept, take, or receive, nor knowingly, wittingly, or willingly suffer or permit to be accepted, taken or received by any person or persons in trust for me, my heirs, executors or administrators, or for any person or persons whatever out of personal friendship to them, or regard to my own interest, directly or indirectly, any jewels, effects, sum or sums of money, whether by bonds, bills, notes, obligations, or otherwise, or accept of, retain, or keep any fee, gratuity,

gratuity, or reward in jewels, effects, money, or obligations, or promises or assurances of money in writing of any nature, or other thing whatsoever, which has been heretofore deposited for services promised to be performed, or favours to be received, or which shall hereafter be deposited, lent, received, or paid into my hands or custody, or to any other persons in trust for me; nor knowingly permit or suffer any other person or persons to receive, take, or accept of the same or any part thereof, by my authority or influence, from any king, prince, vizier, munsubdar, nabob, dewan, fowzdar, zemindar, or from any other person or persons natural-born subjects of the East Indies, China, Persia, or Moeha, of what degree, nomination, or quality soever; or from any servant, or agent, or council of any king, prince, vizier, munsubdar, nabob, dewan, fowzdar, or zemindar, exceeding the value or amount specified in our covenants with the said united company; the full intent and meaning of this oath being, and I do most solemnly swear, that my full and true intent and meaning is, that in consideration of the sum of one and one-eighth per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, (save and except the revenues of the lands of the said united company at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittigong) to be paid to me in monthly, quarterly, or yearly payments, during the time I shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William, and likewise in consideration of my salary, stated allowances, and commission upon the mint, coral, and upon freight goods, and 10 per cent. interest, or premium upon any sum or sums of money I shall

or may hereafter lend, advance, or place out at interest as before-mentioned ; no other emolument or advantage whatsoever shall in any wise howsoever, directly or indirectly, arise or accrue unto me, my heirs, executors, or administrators, or to any other person whatever, through favour or friendship from me, either from my office, or for, or by reason or means of the influence and authority I may have as president and governor of Fort William.

I further swear, that I will not myself receive, or knowingly permit any other person to receive any fee, gratuity or advantage from the disposal of any place, employment or office, to any European or any other person whatever, in or out of the company's service ; and that I will not in any manner break through, or act in any respect during the time I shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William, contrary to any article, covenant, clause, promise and agreement contained in, or the true intent and meaning of a certain indenture, bearing date this first day of October, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, and made in mention to be made between the said united company of the one part, and Robert lord Clive, on the other part, but that I will truly and faithfully perform the same.

So help me God.

Sworn in open court
at Fort William the
first day of October, in
the sixth year of the
reign of king George
the third.

(Signed) Clive,

John Holme, Register.

Whereupon the said deed or writing was publicly, audibly and distinctly read over in the said court; and immediately afterwards the said affidavit, or oath in writing, was in the same manner read over in the said court, and then and there duly taken and sworn to by him, the said Robert lord Clive.

In order to compare the modern trade of the English in Bengal, with the early trade of the Europeans in the interior provinces of Indostan, it is necessary to give an historical account of the successive merchants, adventurers of divers nations, who obtained a licence from the emperors of Indus to trade with their subjects, and to erect factories in their dominions, for their commercial advantage and security.

The Portuguese were the first European nation who first ventured to penetrate into these remote regions. It was owing to the enterprising genius, sagacity, resolution and perseverance of one of their princes, whose merit and discoveries disregarded by his contemporaries, has met with more justice from posterity, that the fame and prosperity of these Lusitanians reach'd the most distant parts of the hospitable globe.

This prince was Don Henrique, fourth son of John the first, king of Portugal, by his queen Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, fourth son of the third Edward, the renowned king of England. Don Henrique, Duke of Viscu received from his uncle Henry the fourth of England, with his father and his two brothers the ensigns of the order of the garter. His genius directed to useful studies enriched his nation with

naval discoveries. Europe got from him the first knowledge and his country the valuable acquisition of the Madeira and Azores islands, and the successive discoveries he directed, had before his death intended for on the coast of Guinea.

His example and success induced the Portuguese to pursue those honourable and useful undertakings, which were gradually extended to the Cape of Good Hope, first known by the cape of storms, discovered by Bartholomew Dias in 1487, five years before Columbus had the glorious sight of another hemisphere. This cape, after many fruitless attempts of other navigators, was successfully doubled towards the end of the year 1497, by Vasco de Gama, who pursued his voyage afterwards to Calicut on the coast of Malabar; where in progression many other establishments were afterwards made.

The early fruits of this national emulation were the acquisition of the parts of Angolia, which soon made the Portuguese masters of that kingdom, and likewise the Island of Masambrque, to the eastward of the Cape, from which Island for a long time, they carried on a profitable trade with the inhabitants of the opposite coast of Africa, for gold dust, elephants teeth, cowries, &c.

There are several good harbours on the eastern coast of Africa, extending from the Cape of Good Hope, northward to the red sea; particularly those of Sofala and Melinda. It is well known, that the country of Monomotapa, on the shore of which Sofala is situated, has very rich gold mines, and abundance of elephants; but as it is situated to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, the coast is within

within the extensive limits of those regions to which the East India company have an exclusive right of trading, they make little other use of it than for taking in water and cattle on their voyages. The India company's exclusive right of trade to this country, which might be made a fruitful source of commerce, prevent others from attaining an advantage of which they will not avail themselves, which is an object deserving national consideration.

The navigation to India being thus opened by the Portuguese, it would probably soon have introduced many rivals to them in those seas, had not the discovery of America so speedily followed it; the nearer situation of which country, and the great importations of silver which Spain made from thence, engaged other nations to prefer the new world, and particularly the English, who were early and successful in their American discoveries.

Portugal therefore was a long time unrivalled in their Asiatic commerce, and notwithstanding bigotry and religious persecution, the natural enemies of arts and industry, prevented their free intercourse with the natives, yet this kingdom was gradually enriched by it to an amazing degree. The prosperity of Portugal continued to the time of the failure of the male branches of the royal family, when Philip the second of Spain, availing himself of this opportunity, to take possession of that kingdom, their conquests in America; their frequent wars with other powers, as well as with their own subjects in the Netherlands, made the Spaniards so attractive to other pursuits, as to stimulate the Dutch, when they had cast off the yoke of

of their oppressors, to establish after their example a formidable power in the east, to the great prejudice of the Portuguese settlements in Asia, Africa, and America

It was owing to the jealousy which Spain entertained of the Portuguese, contrary to their own interest, to their ambitious views in Europe, and to their predilection for America, that the Dutch became the monopolizers of the spice trade in India, which is the most valuable of the branches of eastern luxury, the times could not be more favourable to the Dutch encroachments, as the general peace of Europe was disturbed by religious and civil revolutions

In the first era of the Portuguese power in India, their merchants used to trade in the inland parts of Indostan, such as Agra, Azmeer, Burrampore, Lehome and down the river Indus to Talta and Amadavat. As early as the year 1563, they used to send forty five ships from Bengal, loaded with rice, cloth, sugar, long pepper, wood, oil and other commodities to the Malabar coast every year.

In these times, every possible encouragement was given by the Moguls to merchants of all nations, who, contrary to the present impolitic conduct of the English East India company, were allowed free ingress and regress for their traffic to and from Bengal, by land and by water, inasmuch that large caravans over land were used to come from the most distant parts, even from Muscovy, as well as large fleets of boats down the rivers Jumne and Ganges, for the purposes of trade into Bengal and the adjacent provinces.

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Mr. Ralph Filch one of queen Elizabeth's ambassadors to the emperor Olbur, says, that in the year 1585, when he went from Agra to Bengal, he set off in the company of many merchants, with a fleet of 180 boats, down the Jumne, loaded with salt (meaning a species of rock salt called lemball) opium, carpets and other commodities.

The Portuguese from their bigotted zeal, and their avarice, had been guilty of such oppressions towards the natives, as served effectually to root in their hearts an antipathy towards the Europeans. This, and the rivalry of the Dutch and English ruined their affairs in India, ever since the year 1600. From the time of the Portuguese first acquiring power on the Malabar coast, they demolished the idol of the Gentoos, and endeavoured by persecution to force them to the profession of christianity, which proved destructive of all commercial intercourse; and as soon as the natives found protection and toleration in any new European settlement, all the trade in the neighbouring Portuguese parts gradually declined. John III. king of Portugal in a letter dated the 8th of March 1546, to Don Juande Castro, who died viceroy of India, a nobleman of high character, gave him the most rigorous instructions for the extirpation of idolaters. The Gentoos about Goa are to this day obliged to go several leagues from the city, whenever they perform any of their religious ceremonies.

The trade of England directly with India, was hardly heard of till towards the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, who in the year 1609, granted her first charter, or letters patent to cer-
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tain adventurers of this country, for fifteen years, which she had the precaution to make revocable at pleasure ; on two years notice being given under the privy seal. A new company was established in the reign of Charles II. and the acquisition of Bombay, part of the dowry of his queen Catherine, made their most important settlement. Yet this trade during the reign of Charles and James the second was very limited, as the company was circumscribed to six good ships and six pinnaces to be employed therein. Thus the constitution of England was violated for the sake of establishing a commercial monopoly, though their operations were so confined. Portugal in these days had recovered its independency, and India still continued to be a great object with that kingdom. One of the national tributes to the marriage of Charles with the infanta Catherine, being the cession of Bombay to the crown of England ; Charles whose necessity was the consequence of his profusion to mistresses and sycophants, received an equivalent from the company for this acquisition, who likewise paid him for granting to them an exclusive charter. King William himself, his ministers and some members of his council received a proportionate sum, when a new charter was granted to the company, without any limitation whatever to their trade.

Either the advantages of this exclusive trade must have been known to Charles II. as there were some secret motives for fettering in such a manner, so important an undertaking. Those who attained the first charter after the revolution, were so languid

guid in their measures, as to give encouragement to a set of adventurers to establish a new company in defiance of the royal prerogative, and in opposition to a body of men, who ought to have been possessed of such knowledge, from experience, as would have given them material advantages over rivals less practised in the business. The East India trade was very insignificant till after the revolution. The rival contention of the two companies, which should have encouraged them to spirited undertakings, continued till the 6th of queen Anne, when by an act of parliament the two companies were united. This consolidated company has existed ever since, and by a late extension of that which they possess at present, they are likely to exist till the year 1785

Since the union of the two companies, the immense improvement of our American and African commerce have considerably augmented the consumption of Indian commodities; as well as the great increase of the callico-printing business in this kingdom, owing to an extended foreign demand through a variety of channels. The use of tea became universal in this kingdom, and the colonies has disseminated through the habitable globe this preferable branch of Indian traffic.

In the early periods of the East India trade the English as well as other European adventurers, used to trade freely inland, under the protection of the mogul government, transporting their goods in the carriages of the country called hekeeries, to the most interior parts of Indostan, where they carried on a considerable trade in Indigo, which used to answer very well till the cultivation of that

plant in America ; but upon the confusion introduced, after the provinces of the empire were dismembered, rendered the security of merchants entirely precarious ; they became subject to very great impositions, from the new sovereigns of these provinces through which they passed, who exacted considerable sums for reparations of pretended injuries, or grants of privileges disputed afterwards. When the affairs of the united company became reduced to a more regular system, none in their service, or under their jurisdiction were permitted to go far into the inland country, without leave from the governor and council of which place, at which they resided. These restrictions were prudent and necessary, with regard to the servants of the company and their dependents, while the country continued in so unsettled a state ; but since those countries are subject to the English company's absolute dominions, instead of more indulgence and freedom, the merchants have only changed their subjection to the nabob's exactions for all the accumulated evils of lawless oppression, and monopolies injurious to their trade, and calculated to rob them of the fruits of their industry.

The whole trade of the English East India company in Bengal consists in the sale of broad-cloth, perpet's, copper, iron, lead, and a few other commodities from Europe ; and in the purchase of piece goods, silk, drugs, saltpetre and other articles for the cargoes of their ships bound homewards. The Dutch besides their European imports and exports, carry on a considerable trade on their company's account, from port to port in India, particularly in japan copper, tin, camphire, rute-

tutenage, sugar, spices, 'china-ware,, arrack, &c. but the only trade of this kind carried on for account of the English company is a little opium from Bengal to Bencoolen, about 600 bales of cotton on a ship, now and then from Bombay or Surat, as tonnage offers, and a little pepper from Bencoolen to China, all of which is very inconsiderable.

All the goods imported by the English company into Bengal are sold at stated periods by public auction, called in India an outcry; and upon the sale, a discount of nine, six or three per cent is allowed, according as the purchaser clears out his goods within the limited time. To these outcries all persons, without distinction are invited by the allowance of a dustuck for such goods as they purchase, which is given by the governor upon the clearing them out.

The preverſion of the investment (by which is understood the goods purchased at first hand, from the weavers or manufacturers) for the cargoes of ships returning to Europe, is made from advances in ready money in the inland countries, partly under the direction of the chiefs and residents at the company's subordinate factories of Chittigong, Luckypore, Dacca, Coſſembazar, Maldah, Patna, Burdwan and Midnapore, who send black agents into the interior parts for that purpose, under the direction of a member of the board of council at Calcutta, who fills the post of export warehouse-keeper.

The ſole lawful difference between the trade of the English Company and the trade of the English free merchants and free mariners, as it was ever understood and practiſed in India during the

independency of the mogul government, was that the company's goods, by virtue of the mogul's firman, confirmed afterwards by the usurping nabob's in their treaties with the company, passed with their permit, duty free, while those of the free merchants and other traders were exposed to the payment of the duties established by the country government.

The Portuguese have, for a considerable time past, scarce carried on any regular trade at their settlement of Bardell, the Dutch, French and Danes, the latter of whom obtained at their settlement of Serampore their sunnud from the nabob Allavandy Khawn, about three and twenty years ago, ought likewise to possess the privilege of trading in all articles without exception, paying no duties on such goods as they import but only two and one half per cent. at Hoogly on what they export by sea, conforming in all other articles of trade to the established custom of the empire. They likewise possess a small district of land round each of their settlements, and have been always used to give also their respective dustucks, with their goods.

The Armenians have ever been a great commercial body in Indostan, and had considerable settlements at Bengal, particularly at Sydabad. Their commerce was likewise established by the mogul's firman, whereby the duties on the two principal articles of their trade, piece goods, and raw silk were fixed at three and one and a half per cent but after the subversion of the mogul empire, and during the reign of the nabob usurpers, they were like the Europeans, exposed at times to
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great impositions and interruptions of their trade; at present, since the English company have taken the sovereignty of the country into their own hands, they all trade under the appearance of the old forms, subject in all places as within the Bengal provinces, out of the jurisdiction of their respective settlements, to such regulations as the English are pleased to impose on them, with the enjoined sanction of the nominal Nabob's; which regulations on divers occasions amount to a total prohibition of their trade, being in general a temporary, often contradictory, and wholly calculated for obstruction. When the foreigners prove refractory the fowzdar of Hoogly is ordered to surround their settlements with troops; in the name of the nabob, to stop their provisions, and interrupt their trade. This has been frequently practised. Thus the difference between the lawful trade of the company's servants and other persons residing under the company's protection was, that the covenanted servants of the company, were by the connivance of the country government and long established usage, indulged with dultucks for carrying on their trade duty free, while the others for want of that permit, were subjected to the payment of the government duties. The inconveniencies and impositions to which the European free traders were exposed, for want of this order, were such as generally induced them to prefer contracting with the company's servants for the delivery of such goods as they wanted in Calcutta; this in fact amounted to almost a total exclusion from the inland trade, from one place to another, which when Bengal flourished was very beneficial.

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With respect to the trade that was actually carried on within the company's settlements of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, all were upon an equal footing.

Such was the situation of trade before the English company made themselves the sovereigns of Bengal ; and this representation is agreeable to the ideas of the former courts of directors in England ; who in their general letters to India, in the year 1757, gave directions upon this subject to their different presidencies in this manner ; " That all persons under the protection of the company should have the liberty of resorting to, and trading at all and any of the company's settlements in the East Indies, and at all other places within the company's limits, in as full, true and extensive manner as the rest of the company's servants ; they paying the duties according to the usual and customary methods and rates established at such places ;" and about the same time, in order to ascertain the rights of persons residing upon the Western coast of Sumatra, the court of directors were also pleased to give their instructions to the president and council at Bombay, in the following words. " All persons residing upon the Western coast of Sumatra, who shall resort to, and trade either by themselves or their agents, at Fort St George, Fort William or Bombay, and their respective dependencies are to buy and sell publicly or privately, as they themselves shall choose ; dealing freely and without restraint with whomsoever they shall think proper ; and if contrary to this article, they shall be oppressed or injured by any person whatsoever, such persons, let their rank be what it may, will incur

incur our highest displeasure, and shall certainly feel the weight of our resentment." Those were the judicious orders given for the protection of trade by former courts of directors, and whoever has any notions of trade, must be persuaded, that it is the interest of the company to encourage private traders of all nations in India, as the sale of their staple imports must increase in proportion to the number of the purchasers, and the manufacturers are encouraged, according to the quantity of goods brought to market, upon the system of a free inland trade. But since the English East India company are become sovereigns, they and their substitutes have been exclusively the sole merchants in Bengal, and, seem to have adopted sentiments totally repugnant to the true spirit of mercantile affairs; they have of late even ventured to assert, that they alone have a right to trade in India; and in consequence of that absurd opinion, they have directed certain merchants, inhabitants of Calcutta, not to trade; alledging, that though they might have a legal right to reside at their settlements, they could have no right to trade there which is a contradiction, as a merchant appears no longer in that capacity, when he is precluded from exerting his profession.

It is true, that such restrictions have never been laid but upon particular persons, whom the company designed to oppress. But the state of the company's government must be very despicable wherein the general system of justice is perverted for the sake of distressing an individual.

This absurd and impolitical doctrine has never been maintained and enforced till within ten years past

past, since which time every manœuvre of the governor seems to have been directed to an iniquitous monopoly of the interior trade of Bengal; to effect this, the oppressions and hardships practised to destroy the manufacturers of the country are unexampled, the monopolies of the company have occasioned frequent complaints from the agents of the French and the Dutch companies; the last, upon a recent dispute made proposals to the English for a participation of the weavers. As nothing can shew the state of the company's inland trade, better than the words of their president and council at Calcutta, upon this very subject, in a general letter to the directors, dated the 14th of September 1767. We shall insert here the 62d paragraph, which was as follows:

"A participation of the weavers would be to throw off the mask, and acknowledge ourselves the sovereigns of the country. It would counter-act in the most expressive manner, the professions we make, the appearances we necessarily assume and the endeavours we use of seeming to act from the nabob's authority only. In a word; the disproportion of hands, necessary to form their investment and yours would appear so great, that we could not accept the proposals of participation, without confessing all that policy required should be concealed."

Various and innumerable are the methods of oppressing the poor weavers, which are daily practised by the company's agents and gomastahs in the country; such as fines, imprisonments, floggings, exacting bonds from them, &c. by which the number of weavers in the country has been greatly decreased. The natural consequences have been the scarcity, dearth and debasement of the

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factures, as well as a great diminution of the revenues ; and the provision of the company's investment has thereby now become a monopoly to the almost entire exclusion of all others, excepting the highest company's servants, who having the management of the investment, provide for themselves and their friends regardless of the company's interest. The foreign companies are also permitted to make some small investments to prevent clamours in Europe.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the existence of such cruel oppressions and ruinous measures as have taken place in the Bengal province of late years ; but particularly since the English East India company are become the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom, and their government in Bengal, military as well as civil.

When the grand Mogul, Fanakseei, granted his firmaun for exempting the English from the payment of all duties, their trade was very insignificant, and their legal possessions of lands were circumscribed within forty leagues, about fifteen acres round every factory. From that time to the year 1753, it was the custom for the company in Bengal generally to provide their goods upon contracts with the merchants, who received a part of the money in advance. The merchants known by the appellation of dadney merchants contracted under penalties, to deliver the goods at stated times and prices, at the company's principal settlements, and were of course amenable to the laws of the country, when they or their agents were guilty of irregular practices : in that situation, the detriment accruing to the government from the great

partiality shewn to the English in preference to the mogul's subjects, was comparatively inconsiderable ; but the mogul had certainly no conception of the great advantages of this commerce, and its improvements, on which he had granted so unlimited an exemption from duties.

The preference granted to the English gave them great advantages when they came to deal with the weavers in the inland country, where the factors and agents employed by the company, in this change on the mode of providing their investment, were in general treated with great respect. This influence increased with the power of the English company ; so that after the defeat of Serajah al Dowlah, in 1756, that nabob was forced to engage " that he or his officers, should on no account interfere with the gomastahs of the English ; but that care should be taken that their business should not be obstructed in any way ; and these agents so well availed themselves of this new acquired power, that after colonel Clive had made the first nabob of the company, Jaffer ally Khawn, in the year 1757.

The company's black agents in every district assumed a jurisdiction, which even the authority of the Rajahs and Zemindars in the country durst not withstand. Instances of this influence, so detrimental to the country are to be met with in every part of Mr. Vansittart's narrative.

As the trade of the company increased, and with it the inland trade of their servants in a much greater proportion, these evils which at first were scarcely felt, became at last universal through the Bengal provinces ; and the whole inland trade of
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the country, as conducted for some years past, especially that of the company's investment for Europe, has been one continued scene of oppression: the baneful effects of which are severely felt by every weaver and manufacturer. In the country, every article produced being a monopoly, in which the English with their banzars and black agents, arbitrarily decide what quantity of goods each manufacturer shall deliver, and the prices he shall receive for them.

To increase the amount of the company's investment of goods for Europe, beyond what was sent by his predecessor, has been the constant endeavour of every succeeding governor of Bengal, in order to acquire reputation with the company. To obtain this increase, a cruel severity has been used towards the manufacturers, who labour under divers intolerable hardships; being forced to submit to the general monopoly of the company and their servants, as the most abject slaves; this injustice and oppression have occasioned frequent complaints from the agents of the French and Dutch companies, and these proposals for a participation of the weavers mentioned before. The severities practised towards these poor industrious people, who are generally both manufacturers and husbandmen, are scarcely to be described; for it frequently happens, that while the officers of the collections are distressing them one way for their established rents, the peor's or foot soldiers from the company's agents, on the other hand, are pressing them for their goods in such a manner, as to put it out of their power to pay their rents. Whatever plausible reasons have been given by the company's

pany's servants to justify the tyranny exercised on the oppressed manufacturers while the country belonged to another power, as sordid and rapacious merchants whose only object was the profit arising from trade. Now that they have usurped the sovereignty of Bengal, the continuation of such a practice, may be compared to that of the savages of Congo, who cut the tree to gather the fruit.

For the better understanding the nature of these oppressions, it is proper to explain the method of providing an investment of piece goods, if conducted either by the export warehouse keeper, and the company's servants at the subordinate factories on the company's account, or by the English gentlemen in the service of the company, as their own private ventures. In either case, factors or agents, called gomastahs, are engaged at monthly wages, by the gentleman's banyan, who is at the same time his interpreter, head book-keeper, head secretary, head broker, cash, and secret keeper; there being generally on each expedition into the country, one principal agent, one clerk, and one cash keeper appointed, with some substitutes, called peors, and hincarats, for the purpose of intelligence; the latter carrying letters to and fro, which, for want of regular passes, every merchant does at his own expence. These are dispatched with a pervannah from the governor of Calcutta to the zemindar of the districts where the purchases are intended to be made; directing him not to impede their business, but to give them every assistance in his power. The next step, is to purchase a convenient sum, in such species of rupees as the Bazar, at the batta current,

current, or rate of exchange among the money-changers, as will best answer in the intended districts of purchase, which is dispatched for the first advances to the weavers; and afterwards generally a proportion of such goods as is imagined can be sold advantageously in the said districts, and realized in time for the latter advances in full to the weavers are also dispatched with the company's permit, and consigned to these agents. Upon their arrival in the manufacturing towns, they fix upon a habitation, called *cutcherry*, a sort of warehouse, to which they summon the brokers together, with the weavers; when after the receipt of part of the money in advance, they make them sign a bond for the delivery of a certain quantity of goods, at a stated price and fixed time. The assent of the poor weaver is in general not deemed necessary, for the agents when employed in the company's investment, frequently make them sign what they please; and upon the weavers refusing to take the money offered, they frequently tied it to their girdles and sent them away with a severe flogging. The brokers employed by these merciless agents, know and have accounts with all the weavers of their respective districts; they are often as much oppressed as the weavers; but when seperately employed, they always make the latter pay for it. A number of these weavers are generally also registered in the books of the company's agents, and not permitted to work for any others, being transferred from one to another as so many slaves, subject to the tyranny and villainy of every succeeding *gomastah*. The cloth when made, is collected in a warehouse for the purpose, where it is kept,
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marked with the weaver's name, till it is convenient for the agent to assert and fix the price of each piece; in which business, is employed an officer called the company's asserter. The roguery practised in this department is beyond imagination; but all terminates in the defrauding the poor weaver: for the prices which the company's agents, in confederacy with the asserters, fix upon the goods, are in all places at least fifteen per cent. and in some even forty per cent. less than the goods manufactured would sell for in the public market, upon a free sale. The weaver, therefore, desirous of obtaining the just price of his labour, frequently attempts to sell his cloth privately to others, particularly to the Dutch and French agents, who are always ready to receive it. This occasions the company's agent to set his spies over the weaver to watch him, who frequently cut the piece out of the loom when nearly finished. With this uncontrollable power, the agents are never deficient in providing for themselves, as many goods as they can on their account, and for the banyans; which they either sell to the agents of foreign companies on the spot, or dispatch to Calcutta with the goods of their constituents, under cover of the company's dustucks; if there is any market at all, they are sure in either case to get at least twenty per cent. on the goods thus clandestinely provided.

• In the time of the Mogul government, and even in that of the nabob Alverdy Khawn, the weavers manufactured their goods freely, and without oppression; it was then a common practice for reputable families of the tants or weaver

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cast, to employ their own capitals in manufacturing goods, which they sold freely on their own accounts. There is a gentleman now in England who in the time of that nabob, purchased in the Decca province, in one morning eight hundred pieces of muslin at his own door, brought to him by the weavers of their own accord. It was not till the time of Sujah al Dowlah, that those oppressions commenced, and the evil gradually increased, upon the English company changing the mode of providing their investments. In Serajah Dowlah's time, there were above seven hundred families of weavers in the districts round Jungulburry; on the introduction of this cruel monopoly, they all at once abandoned their country and their trade. Since these days, the natives have had no nabob to apply in cases of oppression, but such as were dependent of the English company, against whom they could not seek for redress.

With every species of monopoly, every kind of oppression to manufacturers, of all denominations throughout the whole country, has daily increased; insomuch that weavers for daring to sell their goods, and broker's for having connived at such sales, have by the company's agents frequently seized and imprisoned, confined in irons, fined considerable sums of money, flogged, and deprived in the most ignominious manner of what they esteem most valuable, their calts. Weavers also upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced from them by the company's agents, have had their goods seized and sold on the spot, to make good the deficiency: and the wind-
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ers of raw silk, have been treated also with such indignity, that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs in rage and despair, to prevent their being able to wind silk.

This last kind of workmen were pursued with such rigour during Lord Clive's late government in Bengal, from the most selfish and iniquitous masters, that the most sacred laws of society were violated with atrociousness and impunity. For it was a common thing for the noble lord and his committee, to send the company's seapoys with orders to break open by force of arms the houses of the Armenian merchants established at Sydabed, who have from time immemorial been largely concerned in the silk trade, and to take forcibly the negeads, or winders of raw silk from their work and drag them to the English factory.

Exclusive of the English company's investment, the worst of all monopolies, and of what the foreign companies are permitted to provide, in order to prevent clamours in Europe: the whole inland trade in almost every thing else that the country produces, and even in some principal articles of foreign import, has been monopolized, by a few of the superior servants of the English company, with their banyans and favourites.

And not only every public measure adopted by the government at Calcutta, has been calculated to favour the establishment of such monopolies, but even the contradictory and injudicious orders of the court directors, on divers occasions, from a want of local knowledge and sometimes from connivance at the iniquitous proceedings of their servants abroad, or from the
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state of parties in Leadenhall-street, have promoted such daring acts of tyranny and oppression as are unparalleled in the annals of civilized nations.

A remarkable instance of this want of local knowledge was given before the house of commons, on the 9th and 10th of April 1764, by two directors of the company then examined at the bar; one of whom declared he had been ten years, and the other twenty in the direction. They had both occupied the chair of the company, and yet declared they did not know the Danes had any settlement in Bengal, notwithstanding their town and factory of Serampore is only about ten miles distant from Calcutta, upon the river Hoogly.

The agents of the foreign companies are obliged to pay an exorbitant price, for the goods they are allowed to purchase; and the honest private merchant cannot give a full scope to his industry, as he is compelled to provide secretly the most part of the few goods he is permitted to purchase.

The monopoly of cotton imported by sea from Surat, is equally destructive of the callico manufactories and the company's revenues. This was a combination amongst most of the gentlemen of the council at Calcutta, to engross as much as they could of the Bombay and Surat cotton. Their original concern on this monopoly amounted to upwards of 300,000 pounds sterling, which they divided in shares among themselves. The prices of cotton which in Bengal, before this monopoly were at sixteen and eighteen rupees per maund, eighty pounds weight, were soon raised to thirty rupees; but at that time, the crop of cotton having proved very plentiful, and a great quantity being also un-

expectedly imported in a new track of trade, from a distant country down the rivers Jumna and Ganges greatly prejudiced the sales of the monopolizers: Two expedients were therefore thought of to facilitate the sales of their cotton; one was, to employ the nominal deputy nabob; but in fact the only man in power under the company's servants. Mahomet Reza Khawn, at Marshadabad, to take and distribute it among the Zemindars; and the other was, by means of the same mock authority, to prevent the importation of the cotton from the upper countries. Accordingly a considerable quantity was actually sent from Calcutta to Mahomet Raza Khawn, and distributed among the Zemindars; and on the borders of the Bahar province; a new and extraordinary duty of above thirty per cent was levied upon the cotton brought down from the high country; which was a most effectual method of preventing its introduction into the Bengal provinces.

The next public monopoly of late practised, has been that of piece goods, fit for the markets of Bussorah, Judda, Mocha, Bombay, Surat and Madras. Of these goods there are many sorts, which the English company do not deal in, yet in procuring them, the same oppressions are practised, under the company's influence, as if it was for their investment.

For the disposal of these goods, another monopoly is established of the exclusive right of exportation, particularly to Bussorah, Juddah and Mocha; which used to be the most profitable voyages. For this purpose the governor and council of Calcutta fitted out ships, generally known by the denomi-

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ration of the freight ships, on which the goods of this joint concern are first shipped, and the remainder of the tonnage is filled up on freight. The management of this traffic is under the direction of a member of the council, who is acting owner, and keeps a warehouse for this purpose, generally known in Calcutta by the name of the freight warehouse. When one of these freight ships is set up, no other persons among the few that can provide goods, dare attempt to set up another on the same voyage, without the permission of the governor and council; nor is any person suffered to load their goods in any other ships for these markets, until the loading of the freight ship of the governor and council be completed. Frequent instances have been known of the goods of private merchants even Europeans, but particularly those belonging to Armenians, Moguls and Gentoos, being in consequence of this monopoly, stopped on the public road, and by force carried to the freight warehouse; and the proprietors of such goods have been obliged, contrary to their wills, to see their goods shipped on vessels they had no good opinion of, and going on voyages, the destination and management of which were often contrived to their detriment. In consequence of which, those merchants have frequently lost their sales, have had their goods damaged, left at ports they never designed they should touch at, and have sometimes lost even their merchandize. By these unwarrantable proceedings, several families of Armenians, principal traders in this branch to Persia and Arabia, have been reduced to beggary.

The most notorious monopolies of the inland trade, put in practice by the governor and council of Calcutta are of an infinite prejudice to merchants, who are strictly prohibited from sending their agents into the interior country to purchase any goods without an order from the president of Fort William.

An order of council was also issued, prohibiting all Englishmen from quitting Calcutta, or residing at any subordinate factory, or in the inland country, under a pretence, that they were guilty of oppressions towards the natives. This restriction was said to originate in the East India directors, and intended to stop those irregularities! But it was in fact devised by the company's servants to favour the establishment and continuation of monopolies, and to prevent discoveries of transactions of a more private nature in the inland country, where many secrets lay buried. However, when the gentlemen of the secret committee, who published that order, found it convenient for carrying on their monopolies in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, to appoint their agents in different parts of the country for the sale of those commodities, they did not hesitate to station them in the subordinate factories for their private emoluments. Even the gentlemen who concurred in opinion of the propriety of that order upon this occasion, had before given their sentiments in direct opposition to such a measure.

It seems strange that the governor of a country could fancy that it was inconsistent with their interest to permit their fellow subjects to inhabit the territories of which they were the acting sovereigns.

reigns. Such an order from the governor and council of Calcutta, proved that they were totally unqualified for holding the reins of government, which they had taken into their hands. The absurdity of this resolution is too glaring to need a commentary; it put the Englishmen upon a worse footing than foreigners in a country conquered by their own nation; since the governor and council thereby deprived them of that right, which the French, Dutch and Danes, who have settlements in Bengal, enjoyed without molestation.

The conduct and policy of the Dutch company have produced very different effects, ever since their first establishment at the Cape of Good Hope, they have encouraged new settlements of their nation, who now inhabit the inland parts at the distance of above six hundred miles from their chief presidency; there by a well regulated police, an impartial administration of justice, cultivation and industry, they have rendered their colony on that rocky mountain so abundant in wine, cattle, grain, and all the products of the earth, that this beautiful and flourishing spot gives occasion for a great comparative reproach on the shallow views of the English company.

The insatiation of the governor and council of Calcutta went farther; on the 18th of May 1768, they published an edict prohibiting not only the company's servants and free merchants, but every other European under the company's protection, as well as all Armenians and Portuguese for carrying on any trade directly or indirectly beyond or without the limits of the said provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa. And it was therein ordered, that

that if any of the persons, described should attempt to transport any merchandize, beyond these provinces, all such merchandize should be seized, and confiscated, and the gomastahs having charge of such contraband trade, should be punished with the utmost severity. It being intended by the governor and council, as was alledged, that none but the natives of the country, noosulmen and Hindoos should enjoy, the privilege of that trade.

The injustice and absurdity of such an order in a mercantile community are, too manifest, to attempt to explain it, this would be an insult offered to every man of understanding; but among the ruinous effects of this order, one was the prevention of extending the company's sales of British woollens and other, staple commodities of this kingdom, and another, adding to the discouragement of the inland importation of bullion, by lessening all mercantile connections with the merchants of the interior parts of Hindostan. From whence the governor and council could derive these powers of confiscation and punishment, or by what authority they could deprive of their natural rights, the Armenians and Portugueze established in Bengal, who as well as their forefathers, were natives of that country, or, with what view they wanted to prevent all trade in the dominions bordering upon Bengal, notwithstanding the princes of such adjacent countries permitted, encouraged, and according to the custom of the empire, could not prevent such trade we cannot account for, unless from private selfish notions, as the very gentlemen who made this instructive order, continued their own agents in the intended districts.

It was in former times customary for merchants from all the inland parts of Asia, and even from Tartary, to resort to Bengal with money or bills, to purchase the commodities of these provinces. They used to go thither annually in large parties of many thousands together, with droves of oxen for the transport of goods, from different parts of Indostan; by which the inland importation of bullion into Bengal always far exceeded the whole importation by sea from Europe and the gulphs of Persia and Arabia. Thus, by the bad practices of

tives. They likewise at the same time prohibited trade in all other articles that are not for export and import.

The districts belonging to Bengal which produce salt, are only such places as are washed by the influx of the tide from the sea, for about sixty miles of the rivers from the bottom of the bay, where it is made by boiling an artificial brine filtrated, though prepared earth, by a process very different from what is practised in Europe, or in the other parts of India. The lands so washed are those to the south of Calcutta, and across the bay from Chittigong to Ballasore: these districts were the former grants from the nabobs of Bengal to the company. Most of them produce nothing but salt, from which the whole of their revenue arises; but from the fluctuating tenor of orders issued at Calcutta relative to this trade, none of the natives would venture to make salt, unless privately concerned or protected by some gentlemen of power and influence in the service of the company.

In consequence of repeated orders received from the court of East India directors, the governor and council of Calcutta in February 1764, issued a proclamation, encouraging the natives to make salt; and upon the faith of this order, many of them engaged in the business, particularly in the woods; where it is made on low grounds overflowed upon the rising of the Ganges, after the periodical rains. In the mean time the head banyan of the governor, and the banyans of some of the other principal gentlemen, who had formed a society, and became large purchasers of the committee's salt, although the same was expressly contrary to the
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fourth regulation of the committee, of the 3d of September 1766) represented to the committee, that as the new salt was permitted to be brought to market, before their own was sold off, they should be ruined by their bargain with the committee. In consequence of this representation on the 12th of August 1767, there was another proclamation issued, forbidding the removal of any new made salt from the ground where it was produced. This was a most effectual method of preventing the sale of the new made salt. The salt makers called Molunguees, came up to Calcutta in a body to petition for liberty to remove their salt before the swelling of the river; above two hundred of them at that very time surrounded the governor's palanqueen, for that purpose, on the high road, and falling prostrate on their faces before him. They were referred to the dewan, a head banyan, though the very man against whom they complained; and before they could obtain an order, their salt was washed away. Such is the power of a governor's dewan upon such occasions, that at this juncture the agent of the rajah of Jaffore, who had come up with the salt makers, was taken up in Calcutta, by the governor's dewan, and sent prisoner into his own province, under a guard of soldiers, where they kept him, till the dewan's business was accomplished.

The wisest measure the company could pursue, would have been to encourage without restriction Europeans and others of all denominations, to engage in the business of salt making, upon engaging to pay the established duties. It would improve considerably the salt revenues, and lower the price

of this necessary of life. Indeed it is amazing, that the directors of a company, that owes its very existence to trade, should in any situation think of prohibiting the free exercise of it, according to established custom in a commercial country like Bengal; and particularly when even the prosperity of their constituents affairs, must depend on such freedom. Every prohibition of one set of men, in favour of another, or the allowing a free trade, in some articles, and laying partial restrictions on others, must tend to the establishment of mischievous monopolies; but when these prohibitions are issued out in a distant country, by despotic rulers, and enforced on subjects reduced to thralldom; this impolitic conduct cannot fail of encouraging conclusions from partial views. These proceedings in the cases before us, are particularly disgraceful, for before the company made themselves sovereigns there, the most tyrannical of the black nabobs would not have prohibited even any European in Bengal from trading in any particular article, so long as he paid the full duties, and conform'd to the laws of the land. It is likewise con-

imported in large quantities from the coast of Coromandel and from Persia.

The trade of individuals in India must ever be to the company's special advantage, and cannot affect their exclusive trade to and from Europe. Among the variety of iniquitous abuses practised in Bengal and the adjacent provinces, to the injury of the individuals, and great detriment of trade in general, we may properly rank those of the spurious coinages, which have been made of late years both in the gold and silver pieces, expressly contrary to law, and apparently for fraudulent purposes.

The English East India company are authorized by charter and law to coin the money of the countries of India in which they have their principal settlements, with the permission however of the governing princes of those countries, and provided that such coinages be made equal in weight and fineness to the standard of the respective states.

There are in different parts of India, divers kinds of gold and silver money, which only pass in general currency by their respective intrinsic value. The standard coinages of India are called siccas, and whether silver rupees or gold ones, called mohurs, all are estimated according to their intrinsic goodness, in proportion to their comparative value of gold with silver. The gold mohurs which were issued at Calcutta in the year 1765, under the auspices of lord Clive, and his select committee, were by their order made to pass in value at fourteen siccas, or about sixteen current rupees and one quarter; but their circulation at that rate could never be made general; so that they occa-
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As to the other late prohibition of their servants to trade in any articles, but what are for export and import, it is a nice distinction, which modern directors alone can explain; for there is not an article of trade in Bengal, but what is either an import or an export; even the article of salt continually imported

imported in large quantities from the coast of Coromandel and from Persia.

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sioned great inconveniencies, and of course frequent heavy losses. The comparative value of gold by silver, above the established medium, in these gold mohurs of the Calcutta mint, was said to have been originally raised only six per cent. and two per cent. more was added for coinage charges.

The issuing of these gold mohurs proved the source of great evils, and was equally injurious to the company and the public. This over rating of the value of gold soon contributed so effectually to the draining of these provinces of silver, that the directors were in February 1768, informed from the governor and council of Calcutta, that it was then difficult to procure silver at that presidency, in exchange even for an hundred gold mohurs, and it was earnestly recommended to them to consider of some other means of supplying China with silver, as there was none to be had in Bengal.

Gold mohurs at the same time, for want of silver rupees, were by unavoidable necessity sent from Bengal to Madras, to answer the most pressing exigencies of that settlement, though it was evident that a very heavy loss would attend such remittances; and by the same advices the directors were farther informed, that the loss at Madras on such remittances of the gold mohurs from Bengal had been thirteen per cent. The governor and council of Calcutta likewise acknowledged in their advices to the directors, that they had been greatly disappointed in their views of establishing a gold currency, as with all their influence it would not pass in any of the provinces, "so wedded were the natives to the particular specie they had been accustomed to." They might have said with more truth

truth, that the people were wise enough not to suffer themselves to be cheated in so gross a manner. A great trade was afterwards carried on in Calcutta, in discounting gold mohurs at eleven per cent. *the banyans of some English gentlemen high in office* did this business; none but them reaped the advantage of this money, which had no currency except within the boundaries of Calcutta; so that those who had payments to make beyond those boundaries, were under a necessity to get it exchanged at so great a loss discount. To such an extraordinary degree was this spurious gold coinage disgraced at last, even in Calcutta, that there was once a quantity of them sold at public auction, by the authority of the mayor's court, which produced only ten current rupees, and one quarter a mohur; which admitting the proprietor had originally received them at sixteen and one quarter current rupees each, made no less a difference than thirty eight per cent loss. The rupees as standard weight and fineness called *siccas*, are eight per cent better than the *areats* which the English, European, and black troops are obliged to receive for their pay. The worst species of rupees called *viziery*, from one of the Nabobs who called himself vizier of the empire, was a spurious coin issued in times of distress, for the payment of his troops. This base coinage has been introduced in different districts since the subversion of the empire. The substitutes and dependents of the English company have authorised even their banyans to coin *vizeries* at the mint of Banaras and Allahabad, in contempt of the grand mogul's prerogative, for robbing the poor soldiers, by paying them with this base money;

nēy ; they have even carried their injustice and effrontery so far as to pay the pension of that nominal sovereign with this adulterated coin ; and this monarch who stiles himself king of the world, has been reduced to brook with this injury, so degrading to his rights.

Thus the supreme executive power of this kingdom has been disregarded by these unlawful coinages, so much below the standard of the empire ; and to obtrude even government payments with this discredited money ; as fraudulent valuations, are crimes of the blackest dye, if not actually high treason, though it cannot be tried by law in India.

Upon the whole, the monopolies and other pernicious regulations enforced in Bengal, particularly by lord Clive and his committee are hastening on that destruction of the manufactories, and of all spirit of industry, which began by deposing nabobs, and usurping the power of these substituted in their place. They have been for several years past decreasing in quality and advancing in price, while many manufacturers of all denominations have, by unparalleled oppressions, been driven from their callings and their country. The former manufactures in Bengal, were incomparably finer, than any thing now produced. There was a sort of muslin called *alroan*, which was manufactured solely for the use of the emperor's *seraglio*, a piece of which sold for 400 rupees at 50l. sterling ; it is said to have weighed only five sicca rupees, and if spread upon wet grass to have been scarcely visible.

All merchants from the interior parts of Asia, were effectually prevented by these iniquitous practices, from having any mercantile intercourse with Bengal, whilst the natives in general are in fact deprived of all trade within those provinces, it being wholly monopolized by a few company's servants and their dependents. In such a situation no commercial country can flourish. Such has been the decrease of the company's credit, that the Bengal bonds have been discounted in Calcutta at upwards of fourteen per cent. As long as the original springs of commerce are thus obstructed, and the cruel oppression of the industrious part of the natives continues, there is no possibility of replacing in its proper channel the great influence of wealth which used stream in from the commerce of Asia. It is manifest, that the company and their substitutes have, by a subversion of the rights of mankind, exercised with impunity every species of violence and injustice. The trade of the other European nations with the Bengal provinces was another inlet of wealth, and while the company are continually draining off from thence, immense sums annually for China, Madras, Bombay and other places, the consequences cannot prove other than ruin and distress, to these inestimable territories.

Some have ventured to affirm, that the inhabitants of the province of Bengal, have such a veneration for the river Ganges, as to prevail on them to endure these multiplied hardships, rather than leave the country. But their superstitious rites of Birmha the law giver of the Gentoos, are celebrated with equal zeal to the northward of Bahar.

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The possession of these provinces with all their natural resources, will soon become burdensome to the company and the nation, if so many abuses of a lawless oligarchy are not soon reformed. The majority of the directors for several years past have shewn themselves unqualified for their stations; others who were able to trace out the evils, have proved themselves unworthy of their trust, by neglecting to act honourably from such knowledge. It is to be hoped, that government will take the preservation and improvement of these Asiatic dominions into their most serious consideration, while there is yet time for the prevention of more dreadful evils.

The character of Mr. Francis Sykes, the junior member of lord Clive's secret committee, has been sufficiently exploded before the grand inquest of the nation, to require a further ecliarissement on his principles and his conduct. He was appointed after the company were become sovereigns of Bengal, by the noble president and his privy council, their resident at the Durbar or the nabob's court, at the capital of Murshedabad. The following letters of this gentleman, entrusted, on account of his tried disinterestedness and abilities, with a controuling power over the court and officers, of the nominal nabob Najam al Dowlah, will throw a light on the docility of his complexion, and the system of his employers.

Copy of a letter from Francis Sykes, esquire, resident at the Durbar, to the secret committee at Calcutta. Dated the 24th July 1765.

To William Brightwell Sumner, esquire, &c.
 “ gentlemen of the select committee.

“ Gentlemen,

“ By the great sudden fall of rain, and the rapidity of the river, I have been prevented from arriving here till yesterday: I shall directly proceed on my business with all possible dispatch, and you may depend upon it, that nothing shall be wanting on my part to finish the affairs which I am commissioned on, as well as any others which may fall to my management during my stay here, to the entire satisfaction of the committee.

“ I have had the pleasure to receive several letters from lord Clive since I left Calcutta, wherein his lordship represents to me the inconveniences and difficulties the present ministers find in carrying on the affairs of the government; owing to the Nabob's ignorance, and his being totally unacquainted with any kind of business whatever; and to obviate and effectually remove an evil of so dangerous a tendency, his lordship recommends to me to endeavour to get the Nabob to throw the management of affairs entirely into the hands of the ministers now in power; to make over all the revenues arising from the subahship, in order to enable us to pay the expences of the army, discharge the demands for restitution, army, &c. and for an annual stipend to the king, with other contingent expences, in consideration of our paying him a sum of about fifty lacks per annum, for his horse, seapoys, begum, brother's zenana, household charges, and every other expence which may attend himself, provided this affair be sanctified

by a *fannud* from the king. This undoubtedly will be a grand point; and to obtain it, I shall certainly exert my endeavours, as I esteem it to be equally for the Nabob's ease and our own interest; for it is certain the state of influence we enjoy in these provinces, however great in appearance, does not carry with it those real advantages and weighty effects which are necessary, not to leave that power in danger of being disputed, and failing us at a time when the company is in most want of it; besides it will be attended with many further good consequences, particularly that of effectually putting a stop to that dissipation of revenues which hath reduced the Nabob, the company, and the country, so frequently to a distressed condition.

" I am getting an account of the Nabob's immediate expences, in order to be able the better to judge what stipend will be most suitable to his rank and dignity, and our honour and credit.

" Mr. Sumner having informed me, that there was a deficiency in the money paid by the Nabob into our treasury, of about rupees 40,562 2 annas, I therefore acquaint you, that an order was sent the day before yesterday for the payment of it, which I hope by this time is come safe to hand.

" I am, with the greatest respect,

" Gentlemen,

" Your most obedient, humble servant,

* & Moradbaug, 24th
July, 1765.

(Signed) Francis Sykes.

* One of the Nabob's gardens near Mushedabad.

Copy

Copy of a letter from Francis Sykes, Esq; resident at the Durbar, to the secret committee at Calcutta. Dated the 28th July 1765.

“ To William Brightwell Sumner, Esquire, &c.
Gentlemen of the select committee.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I have had the pleasure to receive your favour as late as only four days ago, inclosing the plan for carrying on the trade of salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, accompanied by several questions which required to be answered by each member of the select committee severally, in order to collect their sentiments, to enable you to proceed agreeably thereto.

Having replied to each query, in a separate paper, leaves me very little to say here on the subject. I have included the colonels and lieutenant-colonels in the plan, more from a desire of removing every spark of envy, and shewing our disinterestedness in money matters, which certainly ought to be considered in a plan so extensive as this, more than from any claim of real right; for as the company's covenanted servants only are intitled to dusticks, they certainly can be the only persons intitled to a share in this trade; but I look upon this as so great an object, that we can, without impropriety, make a voluntary tender to these gentlemen, who are excluded from receiving presents, as well as the company's covenanted servants.

“ As it is uncertain what number of majors we may have upon this establishment, I think, for
that

that reason, it is not proper to include them, and likewise as they may be too numerous a body.

“ I now inclose you the nabob's perwanahs, &c. amounting to one hundred and six, which will enable you immediately to enter upon the contracts.

I have been very particular in collecting the number of zemindars whose countries produce any salt, and think those I have sent you will be sufficient for the salt-works dependent on the Fowzdar of Hoogly, as well as for those which are to be under the management of the gentlemen of Dacca and Chittigong. You will find that the zemindars are entirely put under our authority, and are to comply with such regulations as you shall think proper to establish.

“ I can with pleasure inform you, that I have completed the business which was so earnestly recommended to me by lord Clive. The nabob, after fully explaining to him the many advantages that would arise to the public, and how much he would be embarrassed from his little knowledge in affairs of so much consequence, has, after mature consideration, agreed to accept of a stipend of sicca rupees, 5,386,16r per annum ; and will, in consequence of such agreement, throw all the affairs of the government into the hands of Mahomed Raza Cawn, Doolubram, and Juggut Seat, the ministers appointed by us ; and make over the management and revenue of the subahdary for the payment of the forces, restitution, and other purposes mentioned in lord Clive's letter of the 11th instant, provided the same be duly authorized and confirmed by the king. - He was indeed so fully persuaded of the expediency of the measures proposed, that he would have accepted of fifty lacks ;

but on perceiving how closely he was tied up relative to the allowance made him for his * Allowary, Emaumbarry expences, Zenana, and other articles, I thought the credit of the committee required that his allowance should be enlarged ; particularly when I considered what a glorious opportunity he gives us of establishing a new system of government, which, if properly adopted, regulated, and pursued with steadiness and firmness, bids fairest for settling that tranquillity in the three provinces which has been so long wanting, and confessed so essential for the good of the country, the nabob's ease, and the prosperity of the company. This prospect, I own, appears to me to be of no less importance to our honourable employers, than that of establishing them in this kingdom beyond the attempts of any enemy whatever ; and securing such real and solid advantages as, from our influence, we have a right to expect, and which must in a short time render the company the greatest and most potent commercial body in the world. But an essential preliminary towards establishing this plan will be, to secure the dewannee, which, though formerly a very distinct office, is now become so dependent on the subahdary, that they cannot with any propriety be in two different interests. This can be very easily secured by lord Clive ; and I make no doubt but it will, on a representation from the committee to his lordship on the subject. In the course of regulating this business with the nabob, I have had the greatest at-

* The retinue maintained for parade ; the expences incurred at his mosques in religious matters, and the charges of his seraglio.

the government were executed; and can with much satisfaction inform you, that I think every one acts with the greatest assiduity in his own office, without aiming at any encroachment on the partition of authority we judged necessary for the security of the present establishment. Whatever attempts might have been made on the balance of power by Doolubram, I am convinced he is very sensible of his error, and will give no cause for any further complaints. There is at present the greatest harmony and cordiality subsisting between the Nabob and his ministers, as well as between the ministers themselves, that the best of consequences is to be expected from it, and we may hope a continuance of it, by a little attention only in the gentleman who resides at the Durbar. The Nabob is extremely polite, and very tractable. I cannot conclude this subject without mentioning to you, gentlemen, the very extraordinary assiduity and care of Mahomed Reza Khawn for the good of the company and the country; and from his indefatigableness, joined with a principle of honour and integrity, we may expect affairs soon reduced into good form and order, a thing so much to be coveted.

“ In three or four days time I hope to be able to send you about two lacks of rupees, but expect little or nothing more: but I must request that a tender of this money may be made the merchants as soon as the company is in cash, and their affairs will admit of its return, having given my word that this circumstance will be complied with; as I should not otherwise have been able to obtain it, unless

Unless I had made use of force, a method which ought to be avoided.

"I am, with the greatest respect,
Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

Moradbug, the 28th
July, 1765.

(Signed) Francis Sykes."

Copy of a letter from Francis Sykes, Esquire, resident at the Durbar, to the select committee at Calcutta. Dated the 31st October 1765.

"To the right honourable lord Clive, president and governor, and the gentlemen of the select committee.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Inclosed I send you a statement of the Bahar revenues, as fixed for this year; with a particular account of such parts as are assigned over for the payment of the jagheers which have been granted by royal authority, and whose names I also particularize.

"After a scrutiny into several years accounts, I find very little has been really brought to the credit of the Nizamut, even in the most peaceable times; but in Meer Jaffer's it has been a very heavy expence to him; little or nothing, I find, being collected even to support a part of the charges attending it. By the best accounts that I can learn, we shall hardly come up to the present statement, though I thought it would be better not to rate it lower this year, and the next we
might

might with more propriety judge of its real value. The expence in Ramnarain's, as well as in the present nabob Itraam al Dowlah's time, has been charged at 2,153,934—2—10, as you will observe by the account I now inclose you. I have examined very narrowly into every article, and have with the assistance of Mahomed Reza Khawn, reduced the expence to rupees 750,920, though still great and heavy ; yet the ministers declare to me, that there is no superfluous expence in that sum ; that it will require the full number of people mentioned to collect the revenues properly, and pay the different contingent expences which must necessarily happen in so extensive a country.

“ Mahomed Reza Khawn, Doolubram, &c. would, with your consent, adopt the following plan. Nabob Itraam al Dowlah to return to his station : Dirgenarain to remain also ; and two overseers on the part of the company, and one on that of the ministers of the government, to remain ; not only as checks on their actions, but to enable them to proceed in the collections with the greatest alacrity. Had not our connections with the brothers of the above-mentioned persons made it necessary to give them our countenance, and a proper influence in the country, I should be entirely for having a new class of people of less consequence, more active, and their expences considerably less, to manage the affairs of that province ; and who would be more inclinable to obey any orders they might receive from hence than they have lately shewed. Whatever arrangements you may think proper to make, the sooner it is concluded on the better ; as every thing is at an en-

time stop, nor can the ministers procure any satisfactory answer, so as to inform themselves of the progress that has been made in the rents.

“ In the account of the jagueers and charity-lands, which I now forward to your lordship, &c. amounting to 2,018,714—10—0, there will be (in consequence of our late agreement) that which the nabob had, amounting to 902,960 -8--15, to be brought to the company's credit, also the sum of 290,707 -14--0 which has been kept up under the head of jagueers, and has been an imposition, as no person can claim it, or any part thereof, either by an authority of royal sunnuds, or as a gift of the nabob's; so that it must be a fraud in those who had the management of affairs. The sum allowed for charity is bulky; and I make no doubt, if it was in my power to enquire into that article, we would find the greatest part misapplied.

“ I have been greatly retarded in sending you the inclosed accounts by the many impositions the Patna Mutseddees, Congoes, &c. wanted to have continued and confirmed; not only in the value of the province and in the account of expences, but in the amount of each person's jagueer; many of whom had charged more than their sunnuds intitled them to receive, in expectations that no inquiry would be made into their right. In short, an entire reformation wants to be made, sooner or later, which if you should not have done now, I would recommend its taking place in April next, when the Poonea is made, and the value of each purgunnah is fixed, or as soon as you think it will be most consistent with the plan of government you are desirous of forming.

“ A re-

“ A regular and proper mode once fixed on, and men of activity, steadiness, and integrity employed in the management of the collections, who will pay a proper attention to the frontier provinces, I am confident, that the province of Bahar will then yield very little short of one crore of rupees. The jagueers and charity-lands stand at the old rents, or at what they paid many years ago. They will certainly now produce double the amount, and in point of right, the surplus, whatever it may be, exceeding the amount which the funnuds intitle the proprietors to, ought to be brought to the credit of the company. Before I have done with this subject it will be necessary to mention, that Shetabroy, as king's dewan, has the department of the Khalsah^{*}; wherein not only revenues, but duties arising to the government yearly, the amount not inconsiderable, ought to be added to this account. I have applied not only to Itraam al Dowlah, but to the Patna Mutsedees, all of whom decline giving me any account of the same, referring me to Shetabroy for them. As this gentleman is now in Calcutta, you will be best able to adjust this matter with him.

“ The duties arising from the Panchuttrah office at Murshedabad, only a few years ago, amounted to rupees 384,000. I find there is now existing scarcely any thing more than the name. I have accordingly got Mahomed Reza Khawn, &c. to appoint a person of integrity and assiduity to inspect into the Daroga's proceedings, and keep an exact account of the duties arising to the government, as has been for many years established. The like

^{*} Crown lands,

like regulations I have desired might take place in the tankfall *, where abuses appear equally great.

“ I find it will be absolutely necessary some regulations should be fixed on for the government of the chokeys all over the country, for which purpose I have got Mahomed Reza Khawn to write to the fowzdars and zemindars of the different provinces, for an exact account of all the chokeys now kept up, that a proper arrangement may be made, and a few considerable ones established in the most convenient parts of the country, which will answer the purpose much more effectually than the superfluous number that do now exist, which have in some degree only served to subvert the true intent for which they were ordered, and throwing a number of difficulties in the way of trade in general.

“ Fraud and villainy appears to have been carried to so great a height in every department, that I am no longer surprized that the Nabobs of late have been so much distressed in their government. A total change, by degrees, must be made; and it can only be by degrees brought about, without great disturbance and murmuring all over the country. I am exerting my utmost endeavours for that purpose; but have to struggle with every difficulty that can be thrown in my way by ministers, musfeddees, congoes, &c. and their dependents. Yet with a proper support from you, I make not the least doubt, in time, but I shall accomplish your most sanguine expectations.

“ Representations of late have been made to me by the zemindars of different villages, that the

king is fixing dawks * from Illahabad to this place and Calcutta ; that it will be a very great burthen to the inhabitants in many parts of the country, if they are under a necessity of supporting them with the usual necessaries, having already both the company's and the Nabob's dawks to provide for, and request they may be relieved from so heavy a grievance.

“ Inclosed I send you a letter which I have received from captain M'Pherson, representing the hardship he has laboured under since his being ordered on the Moradbaug establishment, in being deprived the receiving of any batta, notwithstanding a detachment at Cossimbazar has been allowed it. I request your lordship, &c. will take his case into consideration : and should it not be inconsistent with the rules and regulations then established, I desire you will order him to receive at least half batta, agreeably to what was allowed the Cossimbazar detachment, as an hundred and twenty rupees has been the only sum he has had to live on since his residence there.

“ I am, with the greatest respect,

“ My lord and gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,

† Mootejil, 31st October, 1765. (Signed) Francis Sykes.”

* The dawks, or postmen, when employed by the king, were supported by the countries through which they passed.

† A garden of the Nabob's, near the city of Murshedabad.

Copy of a letter from Francis Sykes, esquire, resident at the Durbar, to the select committee at Calcutta. Dated the 17th Nov. 1765.

“ To the right honourable lord Clive, president
 “ and governor, and the gentlemen of the select committee.

“ My lord and gentlemen,
 “ Your lordship’s &c. favours of the 5th and 7th instant I have received.

“ Inclosed I send you an account of the revenues, as concluded on with the fowzdars, zemindars, &c. for the present year 1765, amounting to 16,029,016--10--2 rupees, charges included; with an account of what has been already collected, how it has been disbursed to the last of Rubby al fany, or the 16th October, in order that you may have a true and exact state of affairs of this province to that time: and shall from henceforward send you a monthly treasury account, that you may be acquainted regularly with the state of the treasury here.

“ On my arrival here, I found that the revenues arising from the different provinces and purgunnahs which compose Bengal had been rated, though not finally concluded with the different officers of the government. In examining into this business, and by comparing the value of the different districts of the country with what they were rated at in Allaverdy Khawn’s time, Serajsh al Dowlah’s, Meer Jaffier’s, &c. I found many fell greatly short of what they had produced, taking the medium of several years. I therefore desired that this important

portant matter might be reconsidered; and after a few days attention to this particular, I have the satisfaction to inclose you a statement, which, I make no doubt, will meet with your approbation. In this agreement I have aimed at a certain equitable and just valuation between the proprietor and the tenant, without subjecting ourselves to any just imputation of severity: and though I do not find that Bengal alone ever produced to the Nabob the amount as appears by the neat balance, except in the time of Cossim Ally Khawn, yet I am confident, with good management, we may reasonably expect an increase, without the least oppression to the farmers or tenants. Some degree of rigour may be necessary this year, to rouse the zemindars and collectors from that lethargy which they have been in, and convince them we are determined to put a stop to the scandalous practices so frequently committed all over India, and that the welfare of the Nabob and our employers is our object, by receiving the just revenues due to the government.

" I shall exert myself to the utmost of my power, to have the full amount of sicca rupees 15,004,887--2--5 regularly and properly collected. Fifty lacks of which I flatter myself I shall have in the treasury by the 11th of February, which includes the December payments; as, by an established custom, a month's credit is always given. Should it so happen that I am disappointed in my expectations, I request your lordship, &c. will not impute it to any neglect, or fault on my part, but to the consequence of a number of circumstances entirely independent of me, which a business of this nature is ever liable to. I most heartily

tily with some method could be taken to prevent the gentlemen, civil as well as military, from sending for the different officers * of the government on every frivolous pretence, by which the collections are greatly impeded: and owing to the distance such circumstances happen from me, I find it a most difficult matter to be a proper judge, whether they are acting in virtue of their station, or in open violence to your orders.

“ The expences of mohurrees, pikes, servants, burkandazes, roads, charity, with other contingent articles attending the collections, amounting to rupees 1,024,129--7--7, are large and enormous, notwithstanding I have retrenched them above one half. Yet I cannot with any propriety attempt to reduce them lower this year, particularly as the ministers declare they are not only reasonable, but indispensably necessary. However, as I get a greater insight into the nature of these charges, and the collections in general, I shall be better able to judge what are superfluous, and what not so: and every regulation and plan of oeconomy;

* This alludes to a practice very common, of English gentlemen, when travelling up the country, sending to the Zemindars for provisions and bearers for their palanqueens, &c. the amount of which the Zemindar inserted among the charges of the collection, or else taxed it upon the ryots, or farmers: in ancient times the emperor's officers were always so complimented when travelling, by the Zemindars, on the road. Since the English company became the sovereigns, their servants, civil and military, have been looked on in the same light, and being very numerous, the frequency of such applications was become troublesome and oppressive.

my. In order to reduce this article, shall always eagerly be embraced and forwarded to your lordship, &c. as expeditiously as possible.

Your lordship, &c. will observe in the account of the revenues a number of purgunnahs, which have no charge annexed them. This is owing to the zemindars letting them on a lease for three or four years; and the expences which are allowed under the head of Nançar, &c. by agreement, is given up to the zemindar, and the tenant is to have for his profits, whatever he can collect above the sum stipulated to be paid to government. By this means it will always be difficult to obtain the true value of the lands, and it is an evil which must be rectified.

I have supplied the factories of Cossimbezár and Decca, with cash for the use of their investments, agreeable to your lordship's orders; the former with three lacks of sicca rupées, and the latter with one of arcots, and to-morrow morning shall send you down, under the care of a party of sepoy, six lacks.

I have had much difficulty in procuring an account of the receipts and disbursements made this year, and delayed sending you the account of the revenues, in expectation of forwarding you this at the same time; but though I have now drawn it out, I find so many articles necessary to be explained, and so many inaccuracies appearing, that I am still obliged to postpone forwarding it, till it can be thrown into a form which will meet with your approbation.

Furroc-Barg, one of the nabob's garden houses, being greatly out of repair, and one of the rooms
 4 B already

already fallen in, the ministers would be glad of
of your permission, to lay out a small sum of mo-
ney on that building, to prevent its becoming an
entire ruin.

I am, with the greatest respect,
My lord and gentlemen,
Your most humble servant.

Mootejil the 17

Nov. 1765.

(Signed) F. Sykes."

Several British subjects, Armenians, &c. having
sought for redress of the injuries they had received
during the presidency of lord Clive, Mr. Verelst
and others, under the palladium of our laws; be-
fore we mention the grievances of some of these in-
dividuals, we shall give the reader an idea of the
nature and defects of the constitution of the East
India company.

If aristocracy is the worst of all political tyran-
nies, and found by experience to be the most par-
tial and the most oppressive, a trading company
invested with an aristocratic power, is the most
likely to abuse it, as avarice, the ruling principle
of a mercantile society, prompts them to divers
acts of injustice and oppression, when unrestrained
by coercive laws.

The Dutch East India company, though aristo-
cratic in its executive power, is the subject of a de-
mocratic trading state, which has established such
effectual checks on all entrusted operative powers
in India, as serve fully to prevent both executive
oppression, and the rapine of individuals. The
French East India company was still more restrain-
ed in the executive powers granted by royal autho-
rity.

The company are by their institution a democratic body, the supreme power even over the management of their commercial concerns, being placed at large in the hands of all proprietors who had five hundred pounds stock, lately raised to one thousand pounds; and so entirely popular is the government of this commercial community, that nine proprietors qualified for voting at their general courts, can at any time require and procure the assembling of the whole body for specified business; where a majority of the members are entitled to demand whatever information or inspection they please; to regulate dividends to establish bye-laws and resolutions, and to order their being carried into execution by their substitutes; the twenty four directors, who are annually chosen; provided such regulations be conformable to the company's charter, and not repugnant to the laws of the kingdom.

Such is the constitution of this incorporated community, which is, suitable to the nature and end of its establishment, being the employment of the joint stock in commerce, to their own advantage, and at the same time to the benefit of the state. The exclusive right of trade granted to them, was for the sake of encouraging a new and important branch of commerce, that might prove beneficial to the kingdom, and which was not likely perhaps at that time, to be properly undertaken or prosecuted on any other conditions: and no other constitutional reason could be given to authorize the grant of such exclusive rights by charters. While this incorporated body of merchants were prosecuting trade in pursuit of their own interest,

terest, they were likewise to be considered as acting in trust for the public, under the inspection, controul, and inspection of government, as the commerce of India, like that which is carried on between Great Britain and every other country, is the commerce of the state

So long as the concerns of the company continued purely commercial, and while they were subject in their Asiatic settlements to the controul of Indian powers, the authority delegated to them by their royal charter, for the regulation of the factories they were to establish in such remote countries, for the advancement of their trade, might be considered as safe and requisite. As this trading community had no other views or expectations than of the profits arising from their commerce, there could be no pretence of government interfering in the management of their commercial affairs, though it must be confessed, the power which the company were authorized to exercise in India, was even soon after their first establishment too frequently abused by the gross acts of injustice and oppression, which have been successively continued, in open violation of the rights of mankind, down to the present times

But the circumstances of this company have within a few years past, become very different from what they were, or could be foreseen either at the first grant, or on the renewal of their charters. By their forces in conjunction with those of the king, immense territories have been required in India, and though of right they can only belong to the state, yet they have been withheld by the company, or rather farmed to their rapacious and

and lawless monopolizers, together with the persons and rights of their wretched inhabitants, for a stipulated annual consideration. So that the company now possesses and exercise in those territories, not only all their prior commercial privileges, but likewise all the powers of despotic sovereignty, with equal sway over their fellow European subjects, and the helpless subdued Asiatics ; there being no courts of justice in these countries, that are effectual for the due protection of either.

It is therefore a most interesting object of national consideration and inquiry ; whether the protection and government of such extensive, populous and wealthy provinces, and the management and appropriation of a yearly revenue of several millions sterling, can be intrusted with safety to the care of a fluctuating democratic community of traders, composed of natives and aliens of all countries and religions, without adequate checks of the British legislative? especially as the very stock of this company with all the powers and rights annexed to it, may in effect be engrossed by combining proprietors. It is not even impossible, that one man should obtain the command of the company, by dint of wealth acquired in its service ; and by a dextrous management of split stock, among temporary proprietors, influence them to vote in his favour whatever he pleases. Lord Clive was in fact become the demagogue of this mercantile society, when he lately exercised in India a dictatorial power even over his constituents. A combination of foreigners, by engrossing much stock, may perhaps influence such measures as may even endanger the Asiatic territorial possessions,

sions, and the India trade of this nation. At a critical juncture they might possibly be made instruments for disturbing the peace of Europe, and thereby expose to hazard the future power and welfare of this kingdom.

In whatever light we consider the India company, to whom these Asiatic territories, and with them no inconsiderable partition of the national influence in Europe are entrusted, it is evident that such possessions are of too much consequence to be abandoned to twenty four directors, often ill qualified for the entire management of concerns of such infinite importance; especially as they are generally elected by the combinations and intrigues of a few monied men, actuated by these powerful springs of the human soul, ambition and avarice: and indeed the general prevalency of the house lists of candidates at elections for directors, and of house questions, carried by the household troops at most of the general courts, might serve to convince the public, that those ministers of the company, after they are so chosen, become in reality their masters; though perhaps on some occasions they may act as the mere tools of such individuals as helped to exalt them, and who in so doing had their interest in view.

When we consider, what the directors have at their disposal in England and in India, in the civil military and maritime departments; the partiality shewn in the distribution of these lucrative employments, and the preference too often given to the unworthy, it is impossible that government above these little cabals and connexions should appear in the same despicable light to the Asiatics and their own

own country, were they rulers of the national concerns in Indostan, as the India stock is limited, the number of proprietors qualified for voting is small in proportion, besides the requisite property for the candidates to the directors is too inconsiderable, comparatively with the many advantages that may be reaped, and the gratifications that can be conferred, if we compute the great share of India stock belonging to foreigners, we will be able to judge of the impolitical disparity of the natives, the directors will preserve their undue influence, over the voters, as the majority of the proprietors either reside abroad or are not qualified for voting in the assembly of the company.

Yet great as the power of the directors is in Europe, there have been such despotes in the service of the company abroad, who not only have presumed to interpret the orders of their employers, as might best serve their own purposes so such monopolies as were grievous to the natives, injurious to trade and freedom, and greatly detrimental to the company; but have even peremptorily disputed the most absolute injunctions of their constituents, and abused the power injudiciously bestowed on them by the most glaring perversion of justice, and the most arbitrary and unconstitutional application of military force at the same time. Such has been the art and the pecuniary influence of these oppressors, that no delinquent in India has been yet brought to exemplary justice in Europe; nor has any kind of redress been otherwise than reluctantly granted by directors, to such unhappy people as had been wantonly persecuted, cruelly stripped, exiled and utterly ruined, not only with-

out

but proved guilt that deserved punishment, or without trial of any kind, not so much even as the open accusation of a misdemeanor while on the contrary, we have seen these little tyrants, intruded into the senate, and associated in the direction soon after their arrival, using uncommon industry to stifle accusations, or even to bear down by power the complaints of the injured. These instances have retraced in our days the pisciflorian ravages, practised in the roman provinces, and the applications that were afterwards ineffectually made, either for justice or redress, to the temporary rulers of degenerate Rome, the seat of universal empire, during the last luxurious, corrupt and rapacious stages of that once glorious, but then sinking commonwealth.

Thus this mercantile democracy, is from a corruption become in practice an odious oligarchy. A majority of the twenty four directors can exercise such despotic powers as operate without limit, both in Europe and Asia, not only over the respectable body of the real proprietors, but likewise over the fortunes of all men who engage in the company's service. And this power they exercise with the same absoluteness over the people, the revenues, the internal trade and external commerce of every considerable part of India, whilst they are possessed of the whole traffic of this kingdom with the eastern quarter of the globe.

Since lord Clive assumed the dewanee, the projects of conquests seem to have so engrossed the attention of the company's servants, that they seem to have been as regardless of the true commercial interests of the kingdom, as they have

execution of its sovereign trust ; that the company is a sovereign in the capacity of a merchant, and accordingly acts there in that double capacity ; and that those who act under them are despots and merchants, as well for themselves as the company : which are circumstances that must prove destructive to a commercial country ; that being a subject depending on the government of the country in which it resides, for its own protection and existence, it is totally devoid of that quality which constitutes the very end and being of government, which is protection."

He then proceeds to describe the company's artificial government of Bengal, which has no other support than the pretence of holding an office under the Mogul, who was in fact their prisoner and a nabob without power, who is dependent on them for his very subsistence and is forced to perpetrate the most unwarrantable actions, when directed to serve the iniquitous purposes of the company's servants.

He represents the real government of the country, in the hands of young European servants to the company, avaricious and ignorant, on whose proceedings the government of this country bestows very little attention, while the natives submit to these raw, illiterate upstarts, with the most timid resignation, and are but little under the controul of their masters, the East India directors. But should the very worst punishment in their power, be inflicted on a governor or some wealthy member of the council, in any of the presidencies, which is dismissal from the service, it is but what he was prepared for, being ready to embark with

a princely fortune for his mother country, where he sets the company at defiance, seeing, that in an ordinary court of justice they can convict him of nothing more than an error of judgment.

With respect to criminal justice in Bengal, the governor and council were in fact the parties to prosecute, the magistrates to imprison, the judges to sentence, the sovereigns to order execution, and such despots, that no grand and petit jury dared venture to disoblige them; while for decisions respecting property they have the appointing of the judges, who decree without juries, and likewise the power of displacing them on any exhibited complaint made to themselves, which they can at any time procure with facility.

So likewise they can cause what kind of justice they please to be executed on the unprotected natives; and should any of them against the will of their arbitrary rulers, dare to avail themselves of their right, to appeal to the laws of England for justice, they forcibly deliver them up into the hands of their creature, a mock nabob, who punctually and literally executes his orders. And thus we find this shadow of a nabob serve to exclude effectually the natives of the country from the privilege of the English laws.

With respect to commerce and internal trade, the whole of both in Bengal, are in effect monopolies, either in the hands of the company or those of their servants; the former from being the only merchant or commercial importer and exporter, as of course the exclusive buyer and seller from or to Europe, or self prescribed conditions, at least as far as regards British commerce; and likewise is greatly

greatly prescriptive in effect with respect to the rest. The advantages of buyers and sellers over each other, are the mere acquisition of a double power of monopolizing over the property of a whole people, and therefore dangerous alike to the welfare of individuals, and the prosperity of a country ; but of course must prove greatly more so when united with unlimited sovereignty.

As the servants of the company monopolize directly or indirectly, all the branches of internal trade, the raw materials for manufactory as well as the necessaries of life, it is impossible that the provinces of Bengal should flourish as long as the industrious are deprived of all freedom, and the fruits of their labour clogged with prohibitions and penalties.

Indeed many of the evils, under which Bengal has laboured for some years past, regard to the prostitution of the public revenues, and the unpolitical regulations relative to trade and manufactory, have in a great measure originated in Leadenhall-Street, from the ignorance or knavery of some members of the direction ; from the continual changes and fluctuating state of that court and that of the proprietors, and for want of a permanent system of government adequate to the altered state of the company's affairs in those distant regions. No stronger proof could be given of the defective constitution of the company, or of the incompetency of the court of directors, than the necessity they thought themselves under a few years ago of having recourse to the expedient of sending supervisors to India ; Mr. Vansittart and others, who have never been heard of since. But after all,
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the prosperity and preservation of the company's valuable acquisitions, require a system very different from all the palliatives and temporary expedients of shallow politics.

It must be confessed, that the opportunity which the situation of the company have of late years afforded for the sudden acquisition of wealth and power have been great and numerous, and the temptations such as few men have the virtue to withstand. These rapid fortunes have served to establish a variety of interests, clashing with each other, among all ranks of persons interested in the society, distinct from all prospects of advantage from the joint trade, and even often repugnant to the interests of the nation. Whilst the situation and government of the company remains a *statu quo*, it is contrary to reason, the nature of the human passions, and indeed of all experience to expect other management or other consequences either in England or India, whatever set of men will be in the direction of their affairs. The company

vinces, and particularly these of Asia, under a rapacious and oppressive government. In vain, a few hundred flatter themselves to enjoy security against millions, without a mild and equitable government; as the supposed difference in the natural acquired vigour of mind or body, cannot realize the illusion of safety against such odds in numbers.

After having enumerated the most glaring abuses introduced by the ruling company's servants in Bengal, multiplied during the presidency of lord Clive, we shall relate some particulars analagous to his lordship's passions and sentiments, communicated to us by a person of credit and veracity, who was at Calcutta the last time the noble lord was in the zenith of his power and glory. Whatever notions of his lordship's benevolence and generosity have been propagated by his friends and dependents, it seems as if his tender feelings had been confined to the gratification of his senses, and his beneficence the effect of pride and ostentation.

It was expected that his lordship's profusion adequate to his fortune might overflow the channels of splendor and pageantry, and be diverted into the benign streams of liberality towards the helpless and the indigent. Soon after the noble president's arrival at Calcutta, a gentleman in the civil service of the company, who felt for his fellow-creatures amidst these opulent wretches, insensible to the cries of the distressed, was honoured with an invitation of the supreme governor. He made an honourable mention of Mr. Vansittart, lord Clive's predecessor, and highly commended his munificence and benefactions; he observed before lord Clive, while at his table, that Mr. Vansittart's be-

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It is ridiculous to suppose, that these remote acquisitions will be long kept in peaceable subjection, by any other ties than justice, humanity, and convenience. Even triumphant Rome, mistress of the universe, could not with her victorious armies, secure the submission of the distant provinces,

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benevolence abroad, was adequate to his hospitality at home ; that he never distributed less in charitable uses during his government than 4000 rupees per month, and that several widows and young ladies friendless and destitute had been the worthy objects of his spontaneous relief, till they were happily married, or otherwise released from their troubles and difficulties. This intimation which should have stimulated the noble governor to the same meritorious acts, could not even influence him to bestow a praise on Mr. Vansittart's extensive donations. His lordship replied with a deliberate insensibility, and a shameless sneer, that betrayed his principles : " What Mr. Vansittart did in this particular shall be no precedent to me, as I am determined not to follow it ; but were the ladies inclined to repay the favour, in bestowing theirs, I do not know how far this motive might prevail on my sensation." This declaration shewed lord Clive in his true colours, and was followed by a contemptuous silence and indignation.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME: